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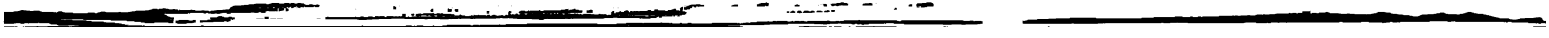

THE WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

Lord Chancellor of England.

A NEW EDITION:

BY

BASIL MONTAGU, ESQ.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
WILLIAM PICKERING.
MDCCCXXV.

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Johnson's Court.

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TO

THE KING

THIS EDITION OF THE WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON, WHO SAYS, 'THERE BELONGETH TO KINGS FROM THEIR 'SERVANTS BOTH TRIBUTE OF DUTY AND PRESENTS OF 'AFFECTION,' IS, WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

HIS MAJESTY'S

FAITHFUL SUBJECT

AND OBLIGED SERVANT

BASIL MONTAGU.

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ADDRESS.

THE works of LORD BACON may be considered as

1. PHILOSOPHICAL.
2. POLITICAL.
3. LEGAL.

OR

4. MISCELLANEOUS.

His important work, which contains his Philosophy, and upon which his fame depends, is the "INSTAURATIO MAGNA."

It consists of a preface, and of six distinct parts into which it is divided:

I. PARTITIONES SCIENTIARUM.—A survey of the then existing knowledge, with a designation of the parts of science which were unexplored; —*the cultivated parts of the intellectual world, and the deserts.*

II. NOVUM ORGANUM.—The art of invention, or the conduct of the understanding in the discovery of truth.

III. PHENOMENA UNIVERSI.—History, natural and experimental, as a foundation for true philosophy.

IV. SCALA INTELLECTUS.—An application of the Novum Organum by gradual instances and examples.

V. PRODROMI, sive Anticipationes Philosophiæ secundæ.—Anticipations of the sixth part.

VI. SECUNDA PHILOSOPHIA, sive Scientia Activa.—The system of philosophy which results from the sincere and strict enquiry prescribed in the former parts.

Since the year 1730 there have been seven editions of the Works of Lord Bacon. In 1730, 4 vols. folio; 1740, 4 vols. folio; 1753, 3 vols. folio; 1765, 5 vols. 4to; 1778, 5 vols. 4to; 1803, 10 vols. 8vo. 1819, 10 vols. 8vo.

It may seem extraordinary, that there is not in either of these editions a translation of any part of the Instauratio Magna:——the Advancement of Learning, which was published in two books, in English, in 1605, not being, as is frequently supposed, a translation of the De Augmentis Scientiarum, which was published in nine books, in Latin in 1623. (*a*)

(*a*) They differ in extent, and there are many passages in each of these works which are not contained in the other. The beautiful passage for instance, upon Queen Elizabeth, in the Advancement of Learning, concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince, with felicity in the people, is not in the "De Augmentis."

The treatise "De Augmentis," being more extensive, abounds with passages that are not contained in "The Advancement." I will take one specimen from each subject into which the work is divided:—viz. from,

- History, relating to the Memory.
- Poetry, relating to the Imagination. And
- Philosophy, relating to the Understanding.

In the treatise De Augmentis, natural History is divided—

- 1. As to the subject:
  - 1. Of Nature in Course.
  - 2. Of Nature Erring.
  - 3. Of Arts.
- 2. *As to the use*:
  - 1. *Narrative.*
  - 2. *Inductive.*

But the division, *as to the use*, &c. is not contained in the Advancement.

Under Poetry—The fable of Pan, of Perseus, &c. which are not in the Advancement, will be found in the treatise De Augmentis.

It may, perhaps, seem more extraordinary that in the edition of 1753, which has been followed by

---

Under Philosophy—Speaking of the advancement of universal justice or the laws of laws, he says, "I propose, if God give me leave, having begun a work of this nature in aphorisms, to propound it hereafter, noting it in the mean time for deficient." *In the treatise De Augmentis*, considerable progress is made in this projected work, in forty-seven distinct axioms, of which the following is a specimen: "Antequam vero ad corpus ipsum legum particvlarium deveni-"amus; perstringemus pancis virtutes et dignitates legum in genere. "Lex bona censeri possit quæ sit intimatione certa, præcepto justa, "executione commoda; cum forma politiæ congrua et generans "virtutem in subditis."

In Archbishop Tenison's Baconiana, the progress of this work, and the difference between the De Augmentis and the Advancement is explained. In the conclusion of his observations, he says, "I have "seen a letter, written by certain gentlemen to Dr. Rawley, wherein "they thus importune him for a more accurate version, by his own "hand:—'It is our humble suite to you, and we earnestly solicit you, "'to give yourself the trouble, to correct the too much defective "'translation of De Augmentis Scientiarum, which Dr. Wats hath "'set forth. It is a thousand pities, that so worthy a piece should "'lose its grace and credit by an ill expositor; since those persons, "'who read that translation, taking it for genuine, and upon that "'presumption not regarding the Latine edition, are thereby robbed "'of that benefit which (if you would please to undertake the busi-"'ness) they might receive. This tendeth to the dishonour of that "'noble Lord, and the hindrance of the Advancement of Learning.'"

Of the correctness or incorrectness of these observations, some estimate may be formed from the following specimens.

The Instauratio Magna thus begins:

FRANCISCUS DE VERULAMIO
SIC COGITAVIT.

Translation by Wats.—

FRANCIS Lord VERULAM
CONSULTED THUS.

Another Specimen.—Advancement of Learning.

We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth; which sheweth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality; and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious men turn melancholy; but

the subsequent editions, the Editor has without any authority, ventured to alter the whole of Lord Bacon's own arrangement of the third and fourth parts of the Instauration. (*b*)

---

of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite, are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident.

Wats's Translation.

In all other pleasures there is a finite variety, and after they grow a little stale, their flower and verdure fades, and departs; whereby we are instructed that they were not indeed pure and sincere pleasures, but shadows and deceits of pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality; wherefore, voluptuous men often turn friars, and the declining age of ambitious princes is commonly more sad and besieged with melancholy; but of knowledge there is no satiety, but vicissitude, perpetually and interchangeably returning, of fruition and appetite; so that the good of this delight must needs be simpler, without accident or fallacy.

(*b*) This will appear by a reference to the following treatises:—

Historia Ventorum.—Historia Densi et Rari.—Historia Gravis et Levis.—Historia Sympathiæ et Antipathiæ.—Historia Sulphuris, Mercuriæ et Salis.—Historia Vitæ et Mortis.

These different treatises in all the editions previous to the edition of 1753, are sections of the *third part* of the Instauratio: and the *fourth section* is only a fragment. In the editions of 1753, and 1778, and 1803, and 1819, they form sections of *the fourth* part, which appears to be a complete work.

The question is, which arrangement is correct?

In the year 1623, Lord Bacon published his History of Life and Death; the title is, Historia Vitæ et Mortis Sive Titulus Secundus in Historia Naturali Experimentali ad condendam Philosophiam Quæ est Instaurationis Magnæ pars Tertia.

In the year 1679, Archbishop Tenison, who was intimate with Dr. Rawley, Lord Bacon's first and last chaplain as he always describes himself, published his Baconiana, in which there is an outline of the Instauration. He arranges all these sections according to the arrangement of Lord Bacon, and of the "History of Life and Death," he says, this is the *sixth section of the third part of the Instauration. This work, though ranked last amongst the six monthly designations, yet was set forth in the second* place. His Lordship, as he saith, inverting the order, in respect of the prime use of this argument, in which the least loss of time was by him esteemed very precious; and as to "*the fourth part of the Instauration*, it passed not beyond the model in the head of the noble author."

In the year 1733, an English edition of the Philosophical Works was published by Dr. Shaw, a great admirer of the philosophy of Lord Bacon, and intimately acquainted with his writings. This edition does not contain the whole works of Lord Bacon—It does not contain any of the Latin Philosophical Works, although the preface says, "there has been a difference of opinion as to the merits of Lord Bacon, principally owing to this, that in this country we read only the English, and foreigners only the Latin Works of the Author."—It does not even profess to contain correct translations.—The translations are not good of those parts which are attempted to be translated; and the arrangement and titles of various parts are not the works of Lord Bacon, but fancied improvements by the editor (c) Upon the

(c) *Dr. Shaw's Preface.*

The method observed in thus rendering them into English, *is not that of a direct translation*; but a kind of open version, &c.

The liberty sometimes taken, not of abridging (for just and perfect writings are incapable of abridgment,) but of dropping or leaving out some part of the author's writings, may require greater excuse. But this was done to shorten the works, &c.

I subjoin the following specimen of translations:—

Advancement of Learning.

The honest and just bounds of observation, by one person upon another, extend no farther but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel, or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution in respect of a man's self; but to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous.

Dr. Shaw's Translation.

The honest and just limits of observation in one person upon another, extend no farther than to understand him sufficiently so as to give him no offence, or to be able to counsel him or to stand upon reasonable guard and caution with respect to a man's self: but to pry deep into another man, to learn to work, wind, or govern him, proceeds from a double heart.

haste in which the octavo edition was printed, it is unnecessary to make any observation.

With the hope to remedy these defects; to rectify the arrangement, and to supply a translation of the whole Instauration, this prospectus is most respectfully submitted to public consideration. "Men," says Lord Bacon, "have entered into a desire of "learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natu- "ral curiosity, and inquisitive appetite: sometimes "to entertain their minds with variety and delight: "sometimes for ornament and reputation: and some- "times to enable them to victory of wit and contra- "diction; and most times for lucre and profession; "and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their "gift of reason to the benefit and use of man: as if

---

Specimens of Dr. Shaw's Variation, from Lord Bacon's arrangement and Titles.

The Essays by Dr. Shaw are without any of the dedications; are not the English of Lord Bacon, and are arranged into—1. Moral—2. Economical—and 3. Political: which arrangement is not by Lord Bacon, but by Dr. Shaw.

The treatise "De Augmentis," instead of being divided according to Lord Bacon's division into nine books, is divided into twenty-nine sections, with a title to each section.

Dr. Shaw has divided the Novum Organum into sections. Without enquiring whether the work is or is not susceptible of this division, it is sufficient to say that it is the division of Dr. Shaw, and not of Lord Bacon. It may, perhaps, be worth observing, that in a small 12mo. edition, which was published in 1818, the editor has followed the division of Dr. Shaw, without a continuation of the numbers of Lord Bacon's Aphorisms This will appear by referring to page 13 and 39.

The following are instances of altered titles:—

Lord Bacon's.	*Dr. Shaw's.*
A Discourse on the Happy Union of England and Scotland.	A Specimen of Persian Magic.
Descriptio Globi Intellectualis.	A Specimen of Animated Astronomy.
Advice to Sir George Villiers.	The Prudent Statesman.

"there were sought in knowledge a couch where-
"upon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a
"terras for a wandering and variable mind to walk
"up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of
"state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a
"fort or commanding ground, for strife and conten-
"tion; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich
"store-house for the glory of the Creator, and the
"relief of man's estate. But this is that which will
"indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contempla-
"tion and action may be more nearly and straightly
"conjoined and united together than they have been:
"a conjunction like unto that of the two highest
"planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contem-
"plation; and Jupiter, the planet of civil society
"and action: howbeit, I do not mean, when I speak
"of use and action, that end before mentioned of the
"applying knowledge to lucre and profession: for
"I am not ignorant how much that diverteth and
"interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of
"knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before
"Atalanta, which, while she goeth aside and stoopeth
"to take it up, the race is hindered:

"Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit."

These volumes are not published from the hope of pecuniary gain, but, with a certainty of great expense to the editor, from a desire to complete an edition of Lord Bacon's works worthy of the age in which we live, a desire in which the Editor trusts that the friends of literature will participate, and particularly the admirers of him who left "his name and memory to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations and the next ages."

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III. The first volume containing the Advancement of Learning, &c. will be published on the 10th of May, 1825; and will be continued on the 10th of every alternate month, until the work be completed.

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PREFACE.

This Volume contains

1. The Essays.
2. Meditationes Sacræ.
3. Thé Colours of Good and Evil.
4. Miscellaneous Tracts upon Human Philosophy.
    1. In Praise of Knowledge.
    2. Valerius Terminus, or the Interpretation of Nature.
    3. Filum Labyrinthi.
    4. Sequela Chartarum.
5. Miscellaneous Tracts.
    1. Apophthegmes.
    2. Ornamenta Rationalia.
    3. Sentences.
    4. Notes for Conversation.
    5. An Essay on Death.

§ 1.

THE ESSAYS.

The first edition of the Essays was published in the year 1597. It is entitled*

" Essayes.
" Religious Meditations.
" Places of perswasion and
" disswasion.
" Seene and allowed.
" At London,
" Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are
" to be sold at the blacke Beare
" in Chauncery Lane.
" 1597."

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

" To M. Anthony Bacon his deare Brother.

" Louing and beloued brother I do now like " some that haue an Orcharde il neighbored, that " gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent " stealing. These fragments of my conceits were " going to print: To labour the stay of them had " bene troublesome, and subiect to interpretation: " to let them passe had bin to aduentur the wrong " they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some " garnishment which it mought please any one that " shold set them forth to bestow upon them. There- " fore I helde it best discretion to publish them my " selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen with- " out any further disgrace, then the weakenes of the

* There is a copy of this edition at Cambridge, and in the Bodleian.

" author. And as I did euer hold there mought be as
" great a vanitie in retyring and withdrawing mens
" conceits (except they be of some nature) from the
" world, as in obtruding them: So in these particu-
" lars I haue played my selfe the inquisitor, and find
" nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrary, or
" infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but
" rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Onely I dis-
" liked now to put them out, because they will be
" like the late newe halfepence, which though the
" siluer were good, yet the pieces were small. But
" since they would not stay with their master,
" but wold needs trauel abroad, I haue preferred
" them to you, that are next myself, dedicating them,
" such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof
" (I assure you) I somtimes wish your infirmities
" transslated upon my selfe, that her maiesty mought
" haue the seruice of so active and able a mind, and
" I mought bee with excuse confined to these contem-
" plations and studies for which I am fittest, so com-
" mende I you to the preseruation of the diuine
" Maiestie. From my Chamber at Grayes Inne,
" this 30. of Ianuary. 1597.

" Your entire louing brother

" Fran. Bacon."

It consists of ten Essays.

1. Of Studie.
2. Of Discourse.
3. Of Ceremonies and Respects.
4. Of Followers and Friends.
5. Of Sutors.

6. Of Expence.
7. Of Regiment of Health.
8. Of Honor and Reputation.
9. Of Faction.
10. Of Negotiating.

These Essays, which are very short, are in octavo, in thirteen double pages, and somewhat incorrectly printed.* They are annexed to this volume.†

Of this edition there is a manuscript in very ancient writing in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum.‡

The next edition was in the year 1606. It is entitled

" Essaies.
" Religious Meditations.
" Places of perswasion
" and disswasion.
" Seeneand allowed.
" Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard,,
" dwelling in Fleete streete at the
" hand and Starre neere
" Temple barre.
" 1606."

* The Essay (for instance) in the table of contents is " Of Suters," in the body of the book it is " Of Sutes :"

† See note L. page 445.

‡ The reference to it is in vol. ii. of Catalogue, page 173, as follows:

" Essays by Lord Bacon, viz. on Studies, Discourses, Cere-
" monies and Respects, Followers and Friends, Suitors, Ex-
" pense, Regimen of Health, Honor and Reputation, Faction,
" and Negotiating." The Catalogue then adds, " These Essays will be found to vary in some degree from the printed copies

This edition, which is in 12mo,* and not paged, is, except a few literal variations, a transcript of the edition of 1597.†

The next edition was in 1612. It is entitled,

" The Essaies
" Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight,
" The King's Solliciter Generall.
" Imprinted at London by
" Iohn Beale,
" 1612."

It was the intention of Sir Francis to have de-

---

and especially from an expensive edition of Lord Bacon's works, in which the Essays appear to be greatly mutilated."

It is probable that this (although groundless) relates to the edition of 1730, published by Blackburn. It may, perhaps, be doubtful whether this is a MS. of the edition of 1597 or of 1606; but the first Essay in the edition of 1587 says, " if " he conferre little, he had need of a present witt:" but the words " he had need of" are omitted in the edition of 1606. They are however in the MS. in the Museum. There is also in the Harleiam MSS. 6797, a MS. of two Essays, of Faction and of Negotiating, with cross lines drawn through them.

* I have a copy in my possession, with a very bad engraving of Lord Bacon prefixed above the following lines:

" Bacon, his Age's Pride and Britann's Glory
" Whose Name will still be famous in her story,
" Hauing by's works Oblig'd all future Ages
" To pay Him Thanks as many as His Pages,
" Having well-weigh'd each Tittle of that Praise,
" Found a great part arose from his ESAIES."

As this volume, published 1606, (three years after the death of his brother Anthony), contains the dedication to Anthony and these lines, and as I do not find the edition mentioned in any of his letters: query, was it published by the author or by some bookseller?

† For instance; the dedication in 1597 is to M. Anthony

dicated this edition to Henry Prince of Wales, but he was prevented by the death of the Prince on the 6th of November in that year. This appears by the following letter:

" To the most high and excellent prince, HENRY,
" Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl
" of Chester.

" It may please your Highness,

" Having divided my life into the contemplative " and active part, I am desirous to give his majesty " and your highness of the fruits of both, simple " though they be.

" To write just treatises, requireth leisure in the " writer, and leisure in the reader, and therefore are " not so fit, neither in regard of your highness's " princely affairs, nor in regard of my continual ser- " vice; which is the cause that hath made me choose " to write certain brief notes, set down rather signi- " ficantly than curiously, which I have called Essays. " The word is late, but the thing is ancient; for " Seneca's epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them " well, are but essays, that is, dispersed meditations, " though conveyed in the form of epistles. These " labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your " highness, for what can be worthy of you? But my " hope is, they may be as grains of salt, that will " rather give you an appetite, than offend you with " satiety. And although they handle those things " wherein both mens lives and their persons are most

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Bacon, and in 1606 it is to Maister Anthony Bacon: and the signature in 1597 is Fran. Bacon; in 1606 is Francis Bacon.

" conversant; yet what I have attained I know not;
" but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar,
" but of a nature, whereof a man shall find much in
" experience, and little in books; so as they are
" neither repetitions nor fancies. But, however, I
" shall most humbly desire your highness to accept
" them in gracious part, and to conceive, that if I
" cannot rest, but must shew my dutiful and devoted
" affection to your highness in these things which
" proceed from myself, I shall be much more ready
" to do it in performance of any of your princely
" commandments. And so wishing your highness
" all princely felicity I rest

" Your Highness's most humble servant,

" 1612. " Fr. Bacon."

It was dedicated as follows:

" To my loving Brother Sr Iohn Constable Knight.*

" My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother
" Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking
" amongst my papers this vacation, I found others
" of the same Nature: which if I myselfe shall not
" suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not;
" by the often printing of the former. Missing my
" Brother, I found you next, in respect of bond both
" of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and so-
" cietie, and particularly of communication in studies.

* Francis Bacon married Alice Burnham, and Sir John Constable married her sister Dorothy Burnham. In Lord Bacon's will, he says, Sir John Constable, Knight, my brother-in-law; and he nominates him as one of his executors.

" Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding
" to you. For as my businesse found rest in my
" contemplations; so my contemplations ever found
" rest in your louing conference and judgment. So
" wishing you all good, I remaine

" Your louing brother and friend,

" FRA. BACON."

The Table of Essays is,

1. Of Religion.
2. Of Death.
3. Of Goodnes and goodnes of nature.
4. Of Cunning.
5. Of Marriage and single life.
6. Of Parents and Children.
7. Of Nobilitie.
8. Of Great place.
9. Of Empire.
10. Of Counsell.
11. Of Dispatch.
12. Of Loue.
13 Of Friendshippe.
14. Of Atheisme.
15. Of Superstition.
16. Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe.
17. *Of Regiment of Health.*
18. *Of Expences.*
19. *Of Discourse.*
20. Of Seeming wise.
21. Of Riches.
22. Of Ambition.
23. Of Young men and age.
24. Of Beautie.

25. Of Deformitie.
26. Of nature in Man.
27. Of Custome and Education.
28. Of Fortune.
29. *Of Studies.*
30. *Of Ceremonies and Respects.*
31. *Of Sutors.*
32. *Of Followers.*
33. *Of Negociating.*
34. *Of Faction.*
35. Of Praise.
36. Of Iudicature.
37. Of vaine glory.
38. Of greatnes of Kingdomes.
39. Of the publike.
40. Of Warre and peace.

It is an octavo of 241 pages; and the two last Essays "Of the Publique," and "Of War and "Peace," although mentioned in the table of contents, are not contained in the body of the work.*

This edition contains all the Essays which are in the preceding editions, except the Essay "Of Honor "and Reputation:" and the title in the former editions of the Essay "Of Followers and Friends," is in this edition "Of Followers," and there is a separate Essay "Of Friendship." The Essays in Italics are in the former editions.

These Essays are more extensive than the Essays in the preceding editions, according to the manner of

* There is a copy in the British Museum, and in the Bodleian; and I have a copy.

the author, who says, " I always alter when I add; " so that nothing is finished till all is finished."* As a specimen, the Essay " Of Study," in the first edition ends with the words " able to contend." The edition of 1612 is the same as the former edition, but it thus continues " Abeunt studia in mores;" " nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit, " but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as " diseases of the body may have appropriate exer- " cises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, " shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking " for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; " so, if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the " mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be " called away never so little, he must begin again; " if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differ-

* " To Mr. Matthews; along with the Book De Sapientia Ve- " terum.—I Heartily thank you for your Letter, of the 24th " of August, from Salamanca; and, in recompence, send you a " little Work of mine, that has begun to pass the World. They " tell me my Latin is turned into Silver, and become current. " Had you been here, you shou'd have been my Inquisitor, be- " fore it came forth: but I think the greatest Inquisitor in Spain " will allow it. One thing you must pardon me, if I make no " haste to believe, that the World should be grown to such an " Ecstasy, as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author " dissents in Religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or " Averroes. My great Work goes forward; and after my " manner, I always alter when I add: So that nothing is " finish'd 'till all is finish'd. This I have wrote in the midst of a " Term and Parliament; thinking no time so possess'd, but " that I should talk of these Matters with so good and dear a " Friend.—*Gray's-Inn, Feb.* 27, 1610."

" ences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are " ' Cymini sectores;' if he be not apt to beat over " matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and " illustrate another, let him study the lawyers " cases; so every defect of the mind may have " a special receipt."

The next edition was in 1613.* It is entitled,

" The Essaies
" Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight,
" The Kings Aturney Generall.
" His Religious Meditations.
" Places of Perswasion and Disswasion.
" Seene and allowed.
" Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard,†
" dwelling at the Hand and Starre,
" betweene the two Temple
" Gates 1613."

It is a transcript of the edition of 1612, with the erroneous entries in the table of contents of the two Essays " Of the Publique" and " Of Warre and " Peace," which are omitted in the body of the work; but it contains a transcript from the editions of 1597 and 1606, of the Essay " Of Honor and Re- " putation," which is omitted in the edition of 1612.

In the year 1622 in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester, concerning his published and intended writings, he says, " As for my Essays, and some " other particulars of that nature, I count them but

* There is a copy in the Bodleian, and I have a copy.

† This is the same bookseller who published the edition of 1606.

" as the recreations of my other studies, and in that " manner purpose to continue them; though I am " not ignorant that those kind of writings would, " with less pains and assiduity, perhaps yield more " lustre and reputation to my name than the others " I have in hand; but I judge the use a man should " seek in publishing his writings before his death to " be but an untimely anticipation of that which is " proper to follow, and not to go along with him,"

The next edition, which is a small quarto of 340 pages, was in 1625 *, and, on the 9th of April, 1626, Lord Verulam died.

It is entitled,

" The Essayes or Covnsels Civill and Morall,
" Of Francis Lo. Vervlam, Viscovnt St. Alban..
" Newly written.
" London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for
" Hanna Barret. 1625."

The Essays contained in the volume now published are an exact transcript of this edition of 1625, except that I have added the note in page 123.

Of this edition, Lord Bacon sent a copy to the Marquis Fiat.†

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* There is a copy in the British Museum and at Cambridge, and the copies are not uncommon.

† Baconiana, 201.—" A Letter of the Lord Bacon's, in French, " to the Marquis Fiat, relating to his Essays."

" Monsieur l' Ambassadeur mon File,

" Voyant que vostre Excellence faict et traite Mariages, " non seulement entre les Princes d' Angleterre et de France, " mais aussi entre les Langues (puis que faictes traduire non " Liure de l' Advancement des Sciences en Francois) i' ai bien

There is a Latin edition of the Essays consisting of the Essays in the edition of 1625, except the two Essays *of Prophecies,* and *of Masks and Triumphs,* which seem not to have been translated.

The nature of the Latin edition and of the Essays in general is thus stated by Archbishop Tenison.*

" voulu vous envoyer mon Liure dernierement imprimé que i' " avois pourveu pour vous, mais i' estois en doubte, de le vous " envoyer, pour ce qu' il estoit escrit en Anglois. Mais a' cest' " Heure poure la raison susdicte ie le vous envoye. C' est un " Recompilement de mes Essays Morales et Civiles ; mais telle- " ment enlargiés et enrichiés, tant de Nombre que de Poix, que " c' est de fait un Oeuvre nouveau. Ie vous baise les Mains, et " reste,

" Vostre tres Affectionée Ami,
ex tres humble Serviteur."

" The same in English, by the Publisher."

" My Lord Embassador, my Son,

" Seeing that your Excellency makes and treats of Marri- " ages, not only betwixt the Princes of France and England, " but also betwixt their Languages (for you have caus'd my " Book of the Advancement of Learning, to be Translated into " French) I was much inclin'd to make you a Present of the " last Book which I published, and which I had in readiness for " you.

" I was sometimes in doubt, whether I ought to have sent " it to you, because it was written in the English Tongue. But " now, for that very Reason, I send it to you. It is a Recom- " pilement of my Essaies Moral, and Civil; but in such manner " enlarged and enriched both in Number and Weight, that it is " in effect, a new Work. I kiss your hands, and remain

Your most Affectionate friend and
most humble Servant, &c.

* Baconiana, page 60.

"The Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral, though "a By-work also, do yet make up a Book of greater "weight by far, than the Apothegms: And coming "home to Men's Business and Bosomes, his Lordship "entertain'd this persuasion concerning them, that "the Latine Volume might last as long as Books "should last. His Lordship wrote them in the "English Tongue, and enlarged them as Occasion "serv'd, and at last added to them the Colours of "Good and Evil, which are likewise found in his "Book De Augmentis. The Latine Translation of "them was a Work performed by divers Hands; by "those of Doctor Hacket (late Bishop of Lichfield) "Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious "Poet) and some others, whose Names I once heard "from Dr. Rawley; but I cannot now recal them. "To this Latine Edition, he gave the Title of "Sermones Fideles, after the manner of the Jews, "who call'd the words Adagies, or Observations of "the Wise, Faithful Sayings; that is, credible "Propositions worthy of firm Assent, and ready Ac-"ceptance. And (as I think) he alluded more parti-"cularly, in this Title, to a passage in Ecclesiastes, "where the Preacher saith that he sought to find "out Verba Delectabilia, (as Tremellius rendreth "the Hebrew) pleasant Words, (that is, perhaps, "his Book of Canticles;) and Verba Fidelia (as the "same Tremellius) Faithful Sayings; meaning, it "may be, his Collection of Proverbs. In the next "Verse, he calls them Words of the Wise, and so "many Goads and Nails given "Ab eodem Pastore,"

"from the same Shepherd [of the Flock of Israel."] And of this translation, Bacon speaks in the following letter.

"To Mr. Tobie Matthew."

"It is true, my labours are now most set to have "those works, which I had formerly published, as "that of Advancement of Learning, that of Hen. VII. "that of the Essays, being retractate, and made "more perfect, well translated into Latin by the "help of some good pens, which forsake me not. "For these modern languages will, at one time or "other, play the bankrupt with books: and since I "have lost much time with this age, I would be "glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with "posterity.

"For the Essay of Friendship, while I took your "speech of it for a cursory request, I took my pro- "mise for a compliment. But since you call for it, "I shall perform it.

In his letter* to Father Fulgentio giving some account of his writings, he says, "The Novum Or- "ganum should immediately follow, but my Moral "and Political writings step in between as being "more finished. These are the History of King "Henry the Seventh, and the small Book, which in "your language you have called Saggi Morali, but "I give it a graver title, that of Sermones Fideles, "or Interiora Rerum, and these Essays will not "only be enlarged in number but still more in "substance."

* Baconiana, page 196.

I have annexed an Appendix* containing "
" fragment of an Essay of Fame," which was pul
lished by Dr. Rawley in his Resuscitatio: and "Of
" King,"† which was published in 1648, in a volum
entitled " Remains," which also contains an Essa
" On Death." This Essay I have inserted in pag
432 of this volume.‡

During the life of Bacon, various editions of the Essays were published and in different languages, in 1618, in Italian:§ in 1619, in French:‖ in 1621, in Italian,¶ and in French.**

Since Lord Bacon's death, the press has abounded with editions. In some of these editions the editors have substituted their own translations of the Latin for the beautiful English by Lord Bacon.

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* Page 154.

† There is a manuscript of this Essay in the Lansdown Collection, B. Museum 135, 6. In Blackburn's edition of Bacon's Works, published in 1640, he says, " I have inserted " from the Remains, an Essay of a King: and my reason is, it " is so collated and corrected by Archbishop Sancroft's well " known hand, that it appears to be a new work; and though " it consists of short propositions mostly, yet I will be so pre- " sumptuous as to say, that I think it now breathes the true " spirit of our author; and there seems to be an obvious reason " why it was omitted before."

‡ There is a MS. of this in the Harleian MS. Vol. II. p. 196.

§ Essays, Italice, 8vo. B. Museum and Oxford.

‖ Essays Moraux, par Gorges. B. Museum and Oxford.

¶ Saggi Morali, opera nuova de F. Bacon corretta a data en luce dal. Sig. Andr: Croli et un tributo, 24mo. B. Museum.

** Essais trad. en Francois, par Bandouin, 16mo. Paris. B. Museum.

How well they have succeeded the reader may judge by the following specimens. In a translation published by William H. Willymott, L. L. D. A. D. 1720, he says, "Wanting an English Book for my Scholars "to Translate, which might improve them in Sense "and Latin at once, (Two Things which should "never be divided in Teaching) I thought nothing "more proper for that purpose than Bacon's Essays, "provided the English, which is in some Places "grown obsolete, were a little reformed, and made "more fashionable. Accordingly having by me his "Lordship's Latin Volume of the Essays, (which as "it was a later, so seems to be a perfecter Book) I "fell to Translating it, not tying myself strictly to "the Latin, but comparing both Languages toge-"ther, and setting down that Sense (where there "was any Difference) that seem'd the fullest and "plainest."

The following is a specimen:

Dr. Willymott.

"The principal Virtue "of Prosperity, is Tem-"perance; of Adversity, "Fortitude; which in "Morals is reputed the "most heroical Virtue. "Again, Prosperity be-"longs to the Blessings "of the Old Testament; "Adversity to the Bea-"titudes of the New,

Lord Bacon.

"But to speak in a "mean, the virtue of "prosperity is temper-"ance, the virtue of ad-"versity is fortitude, "which in morals is the "more heroical virtue. "Prosperity is the bless-"ing of the Old Testa-"ment, adversity is the "blessing of the New,

" which are both in
" Reality greater, and
" carry a clearer Reve-
" lation of the Divine
" Favour. Yet, even in
" the Old Testament, if
" you listen to David's
" Harp, you'll find more
" lamentable Airs, than
" Triumphant ones."

" which carrieth the
" greater benediction,
" and the clearer revela-
" tion of God's favour.
" Yet even in the Old
" Testament, if you
" listen to David's harp,
" you shall hear as many
" herse-like airs as ca-
" rols."

So too Shaw has made a similar attempt, of which the following is a specimen from the Essay " Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature."

Lord Bacon.

" The parts and signs
" of goodness are many.
" If a man be gracious and
" courteous to strangers,
" it shews he is a citizen
" of the world, and that
" his heart is no island cut
" off from other lands, but
" a continent that joins to
" them; if he be compas-
" sionate towards the af-
" flictions of others, it
" shews that his heart is
" like the noble tree that
" is wounded itself when
" it gives the balm: if he
" easily pardons and re-

Dr. Shaw.

" There are several
" parts and signs of good-
" ness. If a man be civil
" and courteous to stran-
" gers, it shews him a
" citizen of the world,
" whose heart is no island
" cut off from other lands,
" but a continent that
" joins them. If he be
" compassionate to the
" afflicted, it shews a
" noble soul, like the
" tree which is wounded
" when it gives the balm.
" If he easily pardons
" and forgives offences, it

" mits offences, it shews " that his mind is planted " above injuries, so that " he cannot be shot; if he " be thankful for small " benefits, it shews that " he weighs men's minds, " and not their trash."

" shews a mind perched " above the reach of injuries. If he be thankful " for small benefits, it " shews he values men's " minds before their treasure."

§ 2.

MEDITATIONES SACRÆ.

The first and, I believe, the only edition of this tract which was published in Latin by Lord Bacon, appeared in 1597. During his life, and since his death, it has been frequently reprinted. If the reader will compare the Meditation upon Atheism, in page 215, with the Essay on Atheism, page 53, and his observation upon Atheism, in page 13 of vol. 2, he will see that these Meditations are but the seeds of his opinions upon this important subject. The sentiments and the very words are similar. In the Meditations, he says, " This I dare affirm in knowledge " of nature, that a little natural philosophy, and " the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion " to atheism; but on the other side, much natural " philosophy and wading deep into it will bring about " men's minds to religion; wherefore atheism every " way seems to be joined and combined with folly " and ignorance, seeing nothing can be more justly " allotted to be the saying of fools, than this, 'There " is no God.'"

In the Advancement of Learning, he says, " It

" is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience,
" that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy
" may incline the mind of man to atheism, but
" a further proceeding therein doth bring the
" mind back again to religion; for in the entrance
" of philosophy, when the second causes, which are
" next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the
" mind of man, if it dwell and stay there, it may in-
" duce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when
" a man passeth on farther, and seeth the depend-
" ence of causes, and the works of Providence, then,
" according to the allegory of the poets, he will
" easily believe that the highest link of nature's
" chain must needs be tied to the foot of Ju-
" piter's chair.

§ 3.

THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

This tract was published by Lord Bacon in 1597,* and has been repeatedly published by different editors. It was incorporated in the treatise on rhetoric, in the advancement of learning,† and more extensively in the treatise " De Augmentis." The dedication, of which there is a MS.‡ in the British Museum, to the Lord Mountjoye, is copied from " The Remains," published by Stephens.§

* " Of the Coulours of good and evill a fragment. 1597." At the end, and *after* the word " Finis," in this old edition is, " Printed at London by John Windet for Humfrey Hooper. 1597."

† See vol. 2, page 213.

‡ Harleian 6797, and there is a page or two of the work itself.

§ But I do not find it prefixed to the work.

§ 4.
PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE.

This tract "In Praise of Knowledge," of which there is a MSS. in the British Museum,* is a rudiment both of the "Advancement of Learning," and of the "Novum Organum." This will appear from the following extracts:

PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE, PAGE 251 OF THIS VOL.

"The truth of being, and the truth of knowing, "is all one: and the pleasures of the affections "greater than the pleasures of the senses. And are "not the pleasures of the intellect greater than the "pleasures of the affections? Is it not a true and "only natural pleasure, whereof there is no satiety? "Is it not knowledge that doth alone clear the mind "of all perturbations?"

ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, PAGE 85 OF VOL. II.

"The pleasure and delight of knowledge and "learning far surpasseth all other in nature; for, "shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the "senses, as much as the obtaining of desire or vic-"tory exceedeth a song or a dinner; and must not, "of consequence, the pleasures of the intellect or "understanding exceed the pleasures of the affec-"tions? We see in all other pleasures there is a satiety, "and after they be used, their verdure departeth; "which sheweth well they be but deceits of plea-"sure, and not pleasures; and that it was the no-"velty which pleased, and not the quality: and

* Harleian MSS. 6797.

" therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars,
" and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of
" knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and
" appetite are perpetually interchangeable."

PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE, PAGE 255 OF THIS VOL.

" Printing, a gross invention; artillery, a thing
" that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a
" thing partly known before: what a change have
" these three things made in the world in these
" times; the one in state of learning, the other in
" state of the war, the third in the state of treasure,
" commodities, and navigation?"

NOVUM ORGANUM, PART I. APH. 129.

" Rursus, vim et virtutem et consequentias Re-
" rum inventarum notare juvat: quæ non in aliis
" manifestius occurrunt, quam in illis tribus, quæ
" Antiquis incognitæ, et quarum primordia, licet re-
" centia, obscura et ingloria sunt: Artis nimirum
" Imprimendi, Pulveris Tormentarii, et Acus Nau-
" ticæ. Hæc enim tria, rerum faciem et statum
" in Orbe terrarum mutaverunt: primum, in Re
" Literaria; secundum, in Re Bellica: tertium, in
" Navigationibus: Unde innumeræ rerum muta-
" tiones sequutæ sunt, ut non imperium aliquod,
" non Secta, non Stella majorem efficaciam et quasi
" influxum super res humanas exercuisse videatur,
" quam ista Mechanica exercuerunt."*

* Shaw's translation.

" Again, it may not be improper to observe the power, the
" efficacy, and the consequences of inventions, which appear no

§ 5.
VALERIUS TERMINUS.

This too is clearly a rudiment of the "Advance-"ment of Learning," as may be perceived almost in every page: for instance, by comparing,

Of this Volume.		Of Volume II.
Page - - - - 261	with	Page - - - - 2.
Page - - - - 271	with	Page - - 45. 51.
Page - - - - 272	with	Page - - - - 48.

It is also a rudiment of the "Novum Organum." In page 285 of this volume, he says, "Let the effect "to be produced be whiteness; let the first direction "be, that if air and water be intermingled, or broken "in small portions together, whiteness will ensue, "as in snow, in the breaking of the waves* of the sea, "and rivers, and the like."

In the "Novum Organum," under the head of travelling instances, he says, "To give an example "of a travelling instance; suppose the nature in-"quired after were whiteness, an instance advancing "to generation is glass, whole, and in powder;

"where plainer, than in those three particulars, unknown to the "ancients, and whose origins, though modern, are obscure and "inglorious, viz. the art of printing, gunpowder, and the com-"pass, which have altered the state of the world, and given it "a new face; 1. With regard to learning; 2. With regard to "war; and, 3. With regard to navigation. Whence number-"less vicissitudes of things have ensued, insomuch that no em-"pire, no sect, no celestial body, could seem to have a greater "efficacy, and, as it were, influence over human affairs than "these three mechanical inventions have had."

* I have ventured in this preface to substitute "waves" for ways.

" and again, simple water, and water beat into " froth; for whole glass, and simple water, are " transparent bodies, not white; but powdered glass, " and the froth of water, are white, not transparent."

§ 6.

FILUM LABYRINTHI.

The tract entitled " Filum Labyrinthi,"* of which there is a MSS. in the British Museum,† seems to have been the rudiment of the tract in Latin in Gruter's collection, entitled " Cogitata et Visa,"‡ the three first sections containing the same sentiments in almost the same words.

That it is a rudiment of the " Advancement of " Learning" is manifest, as will appear by comparing the beautiful passage in page 16 of vol. ii. with the following sentence in page 313 of this volume, " He thought also, that knowledge is almost " generally sought either for delight and satisfaction, " or for gain or profession, or for credit and orna- " ment, and that every of these are as Atalanta's " balls, which hinder the race of invention."

It is also a rudiment of the Novum Organum. Speaking of universities, he says, in page 319 of this volume, " In universities and colleges men's studies " are almost confined to certain authors, from which " if any dissenteth or propoundeth matter of redar- " gution, it is enough to make him thought a person

* " Scala Intellectus, sive Filum Labyrinthi," is the title of the fourth part of the " Instauratio."

† Catalogue Harleian, vol. iii. page 397. Art. 6797.

‡ These will be explained hereafter.

"turbulent; whereas if it be well advised, there is a "great difference to be made between matters con- "templative and active. For in government change "is suspected, though the better; but it is natural "to arts to be in perpetual agitation and growth. "Neither is the danger alike of new light, and of "new motion or remove."

In the Novum Organum he says, (Aph. 90,) "Again "in the customs and institutions of schools, univer- "sities, colleges, and the like conventions, destined "for the seats of learned men, and the promotion of "knowledge, all things are found opposite to the "advancement of the sciences; for the readings and "exercises are here so managed, that it cannot "easily come into any one's mind to think of things "out of the common road. Or if here and there one "should venture to use a liberty of judging, he can "only impose the task upon himself, without ob- "taining assistance from his fellows; and if he "could dispense with this, he will still find his "industry and resolution a great hindrance to the "raising of his fortune. For the studies of men in "such places are confined, and pinned down to the "writings of certain authors; from which, if any "man happens to differ, he is presently reprehended "as a disturber and innovator. But there is surely "a great difference between arts and civil affairs; "for the danger is not the same from new light, as "from new commotions. In civil affairs, it is true, "a change even for the better is suspected, through "fear of disturbance; because these affairs depend

" upon authority, consent, reputation, and opinion,
" and not upon demonstrations: but arts and sciences
" should be like mines, resounding on all sides with
" new works, and farther progress. And thus it
" ought to be, according to right reason; but the
" case, in fact, is quite otherwise. For the above-
" mentioned administration and policy of schools
" and universities, generally opposes and greatly
" prevents the improvement of the sciences."

It is not the correctness of these opinions respecting universities, which is now attempted to be investigated. The only object is to explain the similarity of the sentiments in this tract, entitled " Valerius Terminus," and the " Novum Organum;" but it seems not undeserving observation that this opinion must have been entertained by him very early in life, probably when resident in Cambridge, which he quitted soon after he was sixteen years of age, when the torpor of university pursuits would ill accord with his active mind, anxious only to invent and advance. At this early period, he, without considering whether universities are not formed rather for diffusing the knowledge of our predecessors, than for the discovery of unexplored truths; without considering the evil of youthful attempts not to believe first what others know, would naturally feel " that in the universities of Europe
" they learn nothing but to believe: first, to be-
" lieve that others know that which they know not;
" and after, themselves know that which they know

"not."* He would naturally enough say, "They are "like a becalmed ship; they never move but by the "wind of other men's breath, and have no oars of "their own to steer withal." But this opinion thus early impressed upon his mind seems to have been regulated in the year 1605, when he published the Advancement of Learning, and where, in his tract upon universities,† after having enumerated many of their defects, he says, "The last defect which I will "note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely "been, any public designation of writers or inquirers "concerning such parts of knowledge as may appear "not to have been already sufficiently laboured or "undertaken."‡

§ 7.
DE CALORE ET FRIGORE.

This is obviously the rudiment of the Affirmative Table in the Novum Organum.

§ 8.
HELPS FOR INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

The tract entitled "Helps for the Intellectual Powers," was published by Rawley in his Resuscitatio, in 1657.

In a letter from Gruter to Dr. Rawley, dated July 1, 1659, and thanking him for a present of Lord Bacon's Posthumous Works, in Latin, (probably Opuscula cum Vita, published in 1658,) he says, "one paper I wonder I saw not amongst them, "The

* See page 254. † See page 96, Vol. II.
‡ See also his New Atlantis, ante Vol. II.

Epistle of the Lord Bacon to Sir Henry Savil, about the Helps of the Intellectual Powers," spoken of long ago in your letters under that, or some such title, if my memory does not deceive me. If it was not forgotten and remains among your private papers, I should be glad to see a copy of it, in the use of which, my faithfulness shall not be wanting. But, perhaps, it is written in the English tongue, and is a part of that greater volume, which contains only his English works."*

§ 9.
THE APOPHTHEGMES.

In the Advancement of Learning,† Bacon divides the Appendices to History into—1. Memorials. 2. Epistles. 3. Apophthegmes. And, after lamenting the loss of Cæsar's book of Apophthegmes, he says, " as for those which are collected by others, either I " have no taste in such matters, or else their choice " hath not been happy:" but yet it seems that he had stored his mind with a collection of these " Mucrones Verborum," as, for his recreation in his sickness in the year preceding his death, he fanned the old, and dictated what he thought worth preservation.

Archbishop Tenison, in his Baconiana, page 47, says,

" The Apophthegmes (of which the first‡ is the

* See the original in Latin, with the translation from which this extract is copied in the Baconiana, 239-40, and note he was right in this supposition.

† See page 118, vol. ii.

‡ Apoth. printed in Oct. Lon. 1625. The title page of th

"best Edition) were (what he saith also* of his Essays) "but as the Recreations of his other Studies. They "were dictated one morning, out of his memory; "and if they seem to any, a birth too inconsiderable "for the brain of so great a man; they may think "with themselves how little a time he went with it, "and from thence make some allowance. Besides, "his Lordship hath receiv'd much injury by late "editions,† of which some have much enlarged, but "not at all enriched the collection; stuffing it with "tales and sayings, too infacetious for a plough-"man's chimney-corner. And particularly, in the "collection not long since published,‡ and call'd The "Apothegms of King James, King Charles, the "Marquess of Worcester, the Lord Bacon, and Sir "Thomas Moor; his Lordship is dealt with very "rudely. For besides the addition of insipid tales, "there are some put in which are beastly and im-"moral:§ such as were fitter to have been joyned to "Aretine, or Aloysia, than to have polluted the "chaste labours of the Baron of Verulam."

And Stephens, in the preface to the Memoirs,

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edition is "Apophthegmes, New and Old, collated by the Right "Honorable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.—London "printed for Hanna Barret and Richard Whittaker, and are to "be sold at the King's Head in Paul's Church, 1625."

* See his Epistle to Bishop Andrews.

† Even by that added (but not by Dr. Rawley) to the Resuscitatio.—Baconiana.

‡ In Octavo. Lon. 1669.

§ Ex. gr. Apotheg. 183-84.

published in 1734, when speaking of Blackburn's edition of Bacon, says,

"Would any one, that had consulted the repu-
"tation of the Lord Bacon, or indeed his own, have
"published several Apophthegmes under his Lord-
"ship's Name, which he himself, as well as Dr.
"Tenison, allowed to be scandalous and spurious?
"Those which his Lordship compiled as an amuse-
"ment, during his indisposition in the year 1625,
"were printed in the same year, amounting to the
"number of two hundred and eighty: And were not
"reprinted by Doctor Rawley in the first edition of
"the Resuscitatio in 1657: but, upon the re-publish-
"ing that work, with a dedication to King Charles
"the second, the Bookseller contrived to insert them
"with some alteration and additions; which, instead
"of increasing, diminished the value of the whole.*

This volume contains a copy of the first edition of 1625,† with an Appendix containing the Apophthegmes, published by Archbishop Tenison in his Baconiana. I have, to use Bacon's own words, fanned the collection published under his name, and

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* But note that this edition was published in 1661, during Rawley's life, who died in 1667.

† Amongst the Apophthegmes inserted in the note, the following, which, from its internal evidence, I can scarcely think spurious, would have admirably illustrated Bacon's favourite opinion, that all men should be engaged in active life; that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on.—(See page 225 of vol. ii.)

"When his Lordship was newly advanced to the Great Seal,

rejected the spurious additions. They are inserted in a note.*

The use which Lord Bacon made of these "Mucrones Verborum," may be seen by comparing Apophthegmes 251, page 403, with the same anecdote as incorporated in the Advancement of Learning, Vol. II. page 224.

§ 10.

THE ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA, &c.

Are inserted from the Baconiana.†—The short notes, of which there is a MS. in the British Museum,‡ are taken from the Remains published in 1645.—The Essay of Death, of which there is a

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"Gondomar came to visit him: My Lord said, 'That he was to "thank God and the King for that honour; but yet, so he might "be rid of the burthen, he could very willingly forbear the "honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the same "continued with him still, to lead a private life.' Gondomar "answered, that he would tell him a tale, 'Of an old rat that "would needs leave the world: and acquainted the young "rats, that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days "solitarily; and would enjoy no more comfort: and commended "them upon his high displeasure, not to offer to come in unto "him. They forbore two or three days; at last, one that was "more hardy than the rest, incited some of his fellows to go in "with him, and he would venture to see how his father did; for "he might be dead. They went in, and found the old rat sitting "in the midst of a rich Parmesan cheese.' So he applied the "fable after his witty manner."

* Page 451. † Page 60.

‡ Lansdowne Collection, No. 205, fo. 217.

Manuscript in the British Museum,* is inserted from the Remains.

I know not by what authority this fragment is ascribed to Lord Bacon. It appears not to be in his style; and, excepting the following passages, I do not find any similarity in this Essay with his general sentiments upon death;

PAGE 437 OF THIS VOLUME.

"There is nothing more awakens our resolve "and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, "strengthened with opinion that we shall be well "spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of "the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury "to man, and makes even life unsweet.

"Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame "deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, "than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals "of his own reputation."

PAGE 7 OF THIS VOLUME.

"A mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is "good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above "all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, 'Nunc "dimittis,' when a man hath obtained worthy ends "and expectations."

* Harleian, vol. ii. p. 196.

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To the Right Honorable my very good Lo. the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, Lo. High Admirall of England.

Excellent Lo.

Salomon saies; A good name is as a precious oyntment; and I assure myselfe, such wil your Grace's name bee, with posteritie. For your fortune, and merit both, haue beene eminent. And you haue planted things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all other workes, have beene most currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to mens businesse, and bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in number, and weight; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my affection, and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them (being in the Vniuersal Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My Instauration, I dedicated to the King: My Historie of Henry the Seventh, (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and

my Portions of Naturall History, to the Prince: And these I dedicate to your Grace: Being of the best Fruits, that by the good encrease, which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and
Faithfull Seruant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

THE
ESSAYS OR COUNSELS,
CIVIL AND MORAL,
OF
FRANCIS LORD VERULAM,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

ESSAYS.

I. OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness; and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour, but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price

of a pearl, that sheweth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy, "vinum dæmonum," because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well: "It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and

"to see ships tossed upon the sea: a pleasure to stand "in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and "the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is "comparable to the standing upon the vantage "ground of truth, (a hill not to be commanded, and "where the air is always clear and serene), and to see "the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tem-"pests, in the vale below:" so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowlged even by those that practise it not, that clean and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, "If it be well "weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to "say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward "towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks "from man." Surely the wickedness of falsehood, and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments

of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find "faith upon the earth."

II. OF DEATH.*

Men fear death, as children fear to go in to the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations, there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars books of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured; and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, "Pompa mortis "magis terret, quam mors ipsa." Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour

* See note A at the end.

aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it: nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: "Cogita "quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum "fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment; "Livia, conjugii nostri memor, "vive et vale." Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, "Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non "dissimulatio, deserebant:" Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, "Ut puto Deus fio:" Galba with a sentence, "Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani," holding forth his neck: Septimus Severus in dispatch, "Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, "qui "finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours

of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, " Nunc dimittis" when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: " Extinctus amabitur idem."

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.*

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt hu-

* See note B at the end.

mour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and, therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "ecce in deserto," another saith, "ecce in "penetralibus;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heritics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "nolite exire,"— "go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, "If an hea- "then come in, and hear you speak with several "tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them, "to sit down "in the chair of the scorners." It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-Dance of Heretics:" for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward

peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?"—"What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee be-"hind me." Peace is not the matter, but following, and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: "He that "is not with us is against us;" and again, "He that "is not against us is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controver-

sies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, "in "veste varietas sit, scissura non sit," they be two things, unity and uniformity; the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, "devita profanas vocum novitates, et "oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ." Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will

agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware, that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

What would he have said, if he had known of

the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, "I "will ascend and be like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, "I will descend, and be like the prince "of darkness:" and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod to damn, and send to hell for ever, those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that council of the apostle would be prefixed, "Ira "hominis non implet justitiam Dei:" and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

IV. OF REVENGE.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the "glory of a man to pass by an offence." That which is past is gone and irrecoverable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still before hand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the

dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall "read," saith he, "that we are commanded to for- "give our enemies, but you never read that we are "commanded to forgive our friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hands, and not be "content to take evil also?" and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V. OF ADVERSITY.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: "Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum "mirabilia." Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatness to have "in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a

" God :"—" Vere magnum habere fragilitatem homi-
" nis, securitatem Dei." This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, " that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prome-
" theus (by whom human nature is represented), " sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen " pot or pitcher, lively describing Christian reso-
" lution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh " through the waves of the world." But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly

virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.*

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts "of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; at- "tributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimu- "lation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judg- "ment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or "closeness of Tiberius:" these properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot

* See note C at the end.

choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self; the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to a blab or babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their

minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts, or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and

false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree,) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves averse; but will fain let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie and find a troth;" as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which, in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most prin-

cipal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, "A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother." A man shall see, where there is a house full of children,

one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is an harmful error, and makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants,) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own parents, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "optimum "elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo."—

Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.*

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard some talk, "Such an one is a great rich man," and another except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great "charge of children;" as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not

* See note D at the end.

always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, "vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati." Chaste women are often proud and froward as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question when a man should marry:—"A young "man not yet, an elder man not at all." It is often seen, that bad husbands have very good wives;

whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY.*

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the scripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons

* See note E at the end.

are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus."

Men of noble birth, are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, "That an eunuch, or a lame man, "did such great matters;" affecting the honour of

a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not en-

vied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "per saltum."

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur"; not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for, by that

means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great: and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "invidia," goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection: for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions: for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affec-

tions there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, "Invidia festos dies "non agit: for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the "wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. OF LOVE.*

The stage is more beholding to love, than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is even matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shews, that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely,) that love can

* See note F at the end.

find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, "Satis magnum "alter alteri theatrum sumus;" as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are,) yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole, is comely in nothing but in love: neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, "That the arch "flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have "intelligence, is a man's self;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, "That "it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward, or secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for other losses the poet's relation doth well figure them: "That he that preferred Helena, quitted "the gifts of Juno and Pallas;" for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth

both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more frequent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

Men in great place are thrice servants; servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains;

and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: "Cum non sis qui fueris, "non esse cur velis vivere." Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within: for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, "ignotus moritur sibi." In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the

vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest: "Et conversus Deus, "ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit "quod omnia essent bona nimis;" and then the sabbath. In the discharge of the place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid.—Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancienter time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy lure. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence, and "de facto," than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct

in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting.—As for facility it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon saith, "To respect persons is not good, for "such a man will transgress for a piece of bread."

It is most true that was anciently spoken, "A place "sheweth the man; and it sheweth some to the better "and some to the worse:" "omnium consensu capax "imperii, nisi imperasset," saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, "solus imperantium, "Vespasianus mutatus in melius;" though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place he is another man."

XII. OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, action: what next? action: what next

again? action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first? boldness: what second and third? boldness: And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part: yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times: therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer

up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be vrey great.

XIII. OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I take goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word humanity (as it is used), is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors indeed, in this virtue, of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "Tanto buon che val "niente;" "So good, that he is good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain

terms, "That the Christian faith had given up good "men in prey to those that are tyrannical and "unjust;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law or sect or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth: therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn.* The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; "He sendeth his rain, and maketh the "sun to shine upon the just and the unjust;" but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: "Sell all thou hast and give it "to the poor, and follow me:" but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be

* See note G at the end.

that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had: such dispositions are the very errours of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV. OF NOBILITY.

We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the

nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts: but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides, noble persons cannot go much higher: and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly

greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia; and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

——— "Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella."

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:

"Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit."

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shews the envy great, as Tacitus saith, "conflata, magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, "gesta premunt." Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to

stop them doth but make a wonder long lived. Al that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, to be held suspected: "Erant in officio, sed tam "qui mallent mandata imperantium interpreta "quam exequi;" disputing, excusing, cavilling up mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off tl yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in thos disputings they which are for the direction spea fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes that ought to be common parents, make themselve as a party, and lean to a side; it is, as a boat that i overthrown by uneven weight on the one side: a was well seen in the time of Henry the Third o France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "primum mobile," (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move

violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, "liberius "quam ut imperantium meminissent," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; "solvam cingula regum."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it), is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

"Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

This same "multis utile bellum," is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly are the worst.

As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi modus, timendi non item:" besides in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so; neither let any prince, or state, be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour, or fume, doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull."

The causes and motions of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is, want and poverty in the estate; to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars,) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility,* and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost,) there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the victure, or

* See note H at the end.

carriage; so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that "materiam superabit opus," that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonality. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of common people.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] one of the [illegible] contentments [illegible] vernment [illegible] hearts by hopes, [illegible] when it can [illegible] evil shall appear so [illegible] outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do; because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particu-

lar: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, "Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, "legi a se militem, non emi;" for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, "si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;" a speech of great despair for the soldiers, and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be

without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles, than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith, "atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum "facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes "paterentur:" but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. OF ATHEISM.

I had rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion;* for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion; that is the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and

* See note I at the end.

Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no "God;" it is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others: nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "Non Deos vulgi negare pro-

" fanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare pro-
" fanum." Plato could have said no more; and, although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word Deus, which shews that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it: so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare, a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists: but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, " non est
" jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic
" populus, ut sacerdos:" a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's

minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beast by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or "melior natura;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome; of this state hear what Cicero saith, "Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus omnes, gentes nationesque superavimus."

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great deal men should "say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than "that they should say that there was one Plutarch, "that would eat his children as soon as they were "born;" as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times: but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order. It was gravely said, by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the

schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save the phænomena, though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing that, in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near

great cities: armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go: after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing

in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors: for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words; and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country:

XIX. OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the scripture speaketh of, "That "the king's heart is inscrutable:" for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years

to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries: but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he answered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; "Sunt ple-"rumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se

" contrariæ;" for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable,) save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so, (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like,) as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, king Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, king of France, and Charles the Fifth emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would staightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy,) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzius Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforsa, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or pro-

vocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England's queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be suppositious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his son, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon,

turned upon the father, who died of repentance: and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second king of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependance of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of king Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much dan-

ger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "vena porta;" and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in the janizaries and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, "memento quod es homo;" and "memento

quod es Deus, or vice Dei;" the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. OF COUNSEL.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "The Counsellor." Solomon hath pronounced that, "in counsel is stability." Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of coun-

sel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their council of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas Armed,) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the

authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "plenus rimarum sum:" one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority the fable sheweth the remedy: nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted

than diminished when they are in the chair of council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependancies by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, "non inveniet "fidem super terram," is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

"Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos."

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others humours,

therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, "secundum genera," as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, "optimi consiliarii mortui:" "books will speak "plain when counsellors blanch;" therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; "in nocte "consilium:" so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may "hoc "agere." In choice of committees for ripening

business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate, (as it is in Spain) they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "placebo."

XXI. OF DELAYS.

Fortune is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part

and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them: nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows, (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion, (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom; and certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, "Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis," doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make

objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And I had not be- "fore that time been sad before the king."

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing something which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of [illegible]

hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; whose hearing of a declination of monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "Se non diversas spes, sed in-"columitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare."

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth

many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straight ways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, "Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos."

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is

right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self, is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune: but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric, to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men

many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, "sui amantes, sine rivali," are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is

the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter all things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which, contrarywise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, "That we "make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look

"about us, and discover what is the straight and "right way, and so to walk in it."

XXV. OF DISPATCH.

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: It is like that which the physicians calls predigestion, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as, in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so, in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man, that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little, that we may make an "end the sooner."

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;"—"Let my death come

that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, "altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem "tibi non placere." Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, "hominem delirum, qui verborum, minutiis rerum frangit pondera." Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretel difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in soli- "tude, is either a wild beast or a god:" for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides, the Candian; Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: "magna civitas, "magna solitudo;" because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for

friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "participes curarum;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and pas-

sionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him "venefica," —"witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took

the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberus Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, "hæc pro amicitiâ nostra non occultavi;" and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plantianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plantianus, and would often maintain Plantianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: "I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with

none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, "Cor "ne edito,"—"eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works too contrary effects for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for

the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, "That speech was "like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; where- "by the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in "thoughts they lie but as in packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel, (they indeed are best,) but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is

faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the "best," and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men "that looks sometimes "into a glass, and presently forget their own shape "and favour:" as for business, a man may think, if

he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight; and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all,) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and,

therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean, aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, "that a friend is another himself; "for that a friend is far more than himself." Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face, or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own.

So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. OF EXPENCE.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expences ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he

employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expence, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable, and the like; for he that is plentiful in expences of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being in too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

The speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired

at a feast to touch a lute, he said, "He could not "fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great "city." These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay; and, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, "negotiis pares," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their

forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not any thing, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command: and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, "It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be." The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela, was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alex-

ander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, "he would not pilfer the victory;" and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, "Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and "too few for a fight;" but, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chace with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness, in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing; for Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), "Sir, if any other come that hath "better iron than you, he will be master of all this "gold." Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case,) all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens; neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the exercises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and

population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."

Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and, therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state,

bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire: for to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called "jus civitatis"), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis;" but also, "jus suffragii," and "jus honorum;" and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this, their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations, and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the

whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth, at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the pragmatical sanction, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their

principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point, is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men,

that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made war to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake, upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for, in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law; or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, "Consilium "Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, "qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;" and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples, where sea fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles; but thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great

liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of later ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect to the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers, and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great king of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest aud noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things, honour to the general,

riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith), "add a cubit to his stature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great fame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not "not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of "this, therefore I may use it:" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for

age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health princi-

pally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

Suspicions among thoughts are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the

heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean, to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion; but this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find them-

selves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "Sospetto licentia fede;" as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;

"Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris."

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise "man, he speaks so much of himself:" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had

been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there "never a flout or dry blow given?" To which the guest would answer, "Such and such a thing passed." The lord would say, "I thought he would mar a "good dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeable to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in

the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand; as chesnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine,

goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilder-

ness, as they have God always, and his service before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain: let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast, company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better con-

dition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV. OF RICHES.

I cannot call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "impedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory; of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Solomon, "Where much "is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the "owner but the sight of it with his eyes?" The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, "Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of

" the rich man;" but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact: for, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, "in studio " rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, " sed instrumentum bonitati quæri." Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; " Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons." The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in

England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn master, a great lead man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, "That "himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very "easily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity; broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naughty; as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in sudore vultûs alieni;" and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value

unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, "testamenta et orbus tamquam indagine capi,") it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much, them, that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in

both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.

I mean not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer:

"At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
"Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

——— "Venient annis
"Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
"Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
"Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos

* Homeri Ilias. Υ. 307-308.

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

These noble lines are there uttered by Neptune, but are happily transferred by Virgil to Apollo.

" Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
" Ultima Thule:"

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, " Philippis iterum me videbis." Tiberius said to Galba, " Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium." In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, " This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which " we strive." When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her

husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

"When hempe is sponne
"England's done:"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's style is now no more of England but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

"There shall be seen upon a day,
"Between the Baugh and the May,
"The black fleet of Norway.
"When that is come and gone,
"England build houses of lime and stone,
"For after wars shall you have none."

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

"Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,"

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest;

it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology; but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one), is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event past.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous: so ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state: therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde, which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of am-

bitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous: there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them is, to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great

things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business: but yet, it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependences. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature, from a willing mind.

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be

strong and manly, (a base and a tenor, no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green and ouches, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirits, witches, Ethiopes,

pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clean and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom, only, doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failing, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailing: and at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do

with bladders, or rushes; but, after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity: as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

> "Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
> "Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel."

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission: for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermission; but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore,

let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness; for there is no affectation in passion; for that putteth a man out of his precepts, and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, "multum incola fuit anima mea," when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an evil-favoured instance,) there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac,

nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet this rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is every where visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians, (I mean the sect of their wise men), lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as squeaking. I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we

call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for their example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in its exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds: but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: "Faber "quisque fortunæ suæ," saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors; "Serpens

" nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco." Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, " disemboltura," partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, " In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi " fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi " facturus videretur,") falleth upon that that he had " versatile ingenium :" therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the sky; which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate: the Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath " Poco di matto;" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and re-

mover; (the French hath it better, "entreprenant," or "remuant;") but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, "Cæsarem portas, et fortunam "ejus." So Sylla chose the name of "Felix," and not of "Magnus:" and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "and in this Fortune had no part," never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets: as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. OF USURY.

Many have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe: that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every

Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;"

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, "in sudore "vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;" not, "in sudore "vultûs alieni;" that usurers should have orange tawny bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "concessum "propter duritiem cordis:" for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing, which is the "vena porta" of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of

customs of kings, or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandising: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing, or purchasing; and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means, (be it lands or goods), far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look pre-

cisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus; that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of mer-

chandizing. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a high rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever; let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether dislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before, ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go

from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country: so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men, is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, "juventutem egit, erroribus, imo furoribus "plenam;" and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar,

Cæsar, duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent, than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them: but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unruly horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth:

but, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, "Your young men shall see "visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid: a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxurient speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, "Idem manebat, neque idem decebat;" the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as with Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, "Ultima primis cedebant."

XLIII. OF BEAUTY.

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are other-

wise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour, than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael, the sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour, is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man can not tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions: the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity, (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty, is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable; "pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;" for no youth can be comely but

by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush.

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY.

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) "void of natural affection;" and so they have their revenge of natures. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other: "ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:" but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination, are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay.

Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings, in ancient times, (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials, and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV. OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but like-

wise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets; and, if you will consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, "Surely an excellent place for "summer, but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why do you not think me as wise as some "fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the "winter?"

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books De Oratore, and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof; for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens,

with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel; and so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works:

on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers: and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness: and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you

must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "antecamera," and "re-"camera," joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story, likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI. OF GARDENS.

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the

greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple-trees, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-brier. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In

May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honey-suckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavendar in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums, in fruit, genitings, codlins. In August come plums, of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberds, musk-melons, monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "ver perpetuum," as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air, (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music,) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor

sweet majoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-brier, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and watermints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and, I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the

one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turnet, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden

should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the higher end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy, or full of work; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water,

of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern: that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand: also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statues: but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wished it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-brier and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for

these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because, of the smell of their blossom,) red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-brier, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep; and

set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. OF NEGOCIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go: and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow, or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription.

It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone

which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence, that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and besides, to speak truth in base

times, active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it,) by one, is not safe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many, is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I

mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds; that intend not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no

more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. "Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras," is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than

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[illegible] except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and

with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtile; natural philosophy deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "Abeunt studia in mores;" nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so, if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are "Cymini sectores;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. OF FACTION.

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect to factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called "optimates") held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time, but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These

examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, those that are seconds in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre commune:" and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "tanquam unus ex nobis;" as was to be seen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions

(as the astronomers speak,) of the inferior orbs; which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of "primum "mobile."

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real, had need of exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true "That "light gains make heavy purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is, (as queen Isabella said), like perperpetual letters commmendatory, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but

the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of society, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others, is good; so it be with demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, "He "that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he "that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue, but it is as the glass, or body, which giveth the reflection; if it be from the common people, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shews and "species virtutibus similes," serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), "Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;" it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, "spretâ conscientiâ." Some praises come of good wishes

and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "laudando præcipere;" when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be: some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;" insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that, "he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose;" as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business, for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, sirrbirie, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-poles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;" but speaking of his calling, he saith, "magnificabo apostolatum meum."

LIV. OF VAIN GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, "What a dust do I raise!" So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, "beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit;" "much bruit, little fruit." Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either: and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory, one courage sharpeneth

another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation: "Qui de con-"temnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum in-"scribunt." Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly, vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, "Omnium, quæ "dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:" for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations, cessions, modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny, very wittily, "In commending another "you do yourself right;" for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended,

you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them, he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through, can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: "Omnis fama a "domesticis emanat." Envy, which is the canker of

honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are "conditores imperiorum," founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are "legislatores," lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or "perpetui principes," because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the wise, that made the "Siete partidas:" in the third place are "liberatores," or "salvatores," such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are "propagatores," or "propugnatores imperii," such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders: and, in the last place, are "patres patriæ," which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, "participes curarum," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them: the next are "duces belli," great leaders

such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars: the third are "gratiosi," favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth, "negotiis pares;" such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI. OF JUDICATURE.

Judges ought to remember that their office is "jus dicere," and not "jus dare;" to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that, which they do not find, and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned, than witty, more reverend, than plausible, and more advised, than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed (saith "the law) is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain: so saith Solomon,

" Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta est justus cadens " in causâ suâ coram adversario." The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. " There " be (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment into " wormwood;" and surely there be, also, that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is, to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. " Qui for- " titer emungit, elicit sanguinem;" and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon

the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, "Pluet super eos laqueos;" for penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: "Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum," &c. In causes of life and death judges ought, (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said, and to give the rule, or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous,

and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, "Grapes, (as the Scripture saith,) will not be "gathered of thorns or thistles;" neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briers and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the

country pine: the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ," but "parasiti curiæ," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage: the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees: which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, "Salus populi suprema lex;" and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is an happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be "meum" and "tuum," when the reason and

consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy, have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: "Nos scimus quia lex bona "est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime."

LVII. OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: "Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down "upon your anger." Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit, "to be "angry," may be attempted and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to medi-

tate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, "That anger is "like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls." The Scripture exhorteth us "To possess our souls in "patience;" whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

. . . . . "animasque in vulnere ponunt."

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth mul-

tiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, "telam honoris crassiorem." But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for "communia maledicta" are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries: the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Solomon saith, "There is no new thing upon the "earth;" so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; so Solomon giveth his sentence, "That all novelty is but "oblivion;" whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go farther asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phæton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a

newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world, and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather, that, it was desolated by a particular deluge: for earthquakes are seldom in those parts: but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have) but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited

upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries, (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like, and they call it the prime: it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions; for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect: if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which

points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects; by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats, or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were

western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Grecia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or, (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that, which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey; so was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an overpower, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look

when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live, (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements, are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietation and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodio use of them; as that they may serve in all weathe

that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandize. Learning hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

APPENDIX TO ESSAYS.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY OF FAME. *

THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: they say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flyeth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities: but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine: but now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other

* Published by Dr. Rawley in his Resuscitatio.

ravening fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore speak of these points: what are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post

apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

[THE REST WAS NOT FINISHED.]

OF A KING.*

1. A king is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kind of men, God is the least beholden unto them; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.

4. He must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those characters, "Mene, mene, tekel, "upharsin, He is found too light, his kingdom shall "be taken from him."

5. And that king that holds not religion the best

* See note K at the end.

reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the supporters of a king.

6. He must be able to give counsel himself, but not rely thereupon; for though happy events justify their counsels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to a subject than a sovereign.

7. He is the fountain of honour, which should not run with a waste pipe, lest the courtiers sell the water, and then, as papists say of their holy wells, it loses the virtue.

8. He is the life of the law, not only as he is "lex loquens" himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his subjects "præmio et pœna."

9. A wise king must do less in altering his laws than he may; for new government is ever dangerous. It being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that "omnis subita immutatio est periculosa;" and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful apprehension; for he that changeth the fundamental laws of a kingdom, thinketh there is no good title to a crown, but by conquest.

10. A king that setteth to sale seats of justice, oppresseth the people; for he teacheth his judges to sell justice; and "pretio parata pretio venditur justitia."

11. Bounty and magnificence are virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a parsimonious; for store at home draweth not his contemplations abroad: but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way: a king

herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.

12. That king which is not feared, is not loved; and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.

13. Therefore, as he must always resemble Him whose great name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live; for besides that the land doth mourn, the restraint of justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it: and sure where love is [ill] bestowed, fear is quite lost.

14. His greatest enemies are his flatterers; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.

15. The love which a king oweth to a weal public, should not be overstrained to any one particular; yet that his more special favour do reflect upon some worthy ones is somewhat necessary, because there are few of that capacity.

16. He must have a special care of five things, if he would not have his crown to be but to him "infelix felicitas."

First, that "simulata sanctitas" be not in the church; for that is "duplex iniquitas."

Secondly, that "inutilis æquitas" [illegible] he chancery; for that is "inepta misericor[illegible]

Thirdly, that "utilis iniquitas" [illegible] he exchequer: for that is "crudele latroc[illegible]

Fourthly, that " fidelis temeritas" be not his general; for that will bring but " seram pœnitentiam."

Fifthly, that " infidelis prudentia" be not his secretary; for that is " anguis sub viridi herba."

To conclude; as he is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an atheist, wanting the fear of God in his heart.

MEDITATIONES SACRÆ.

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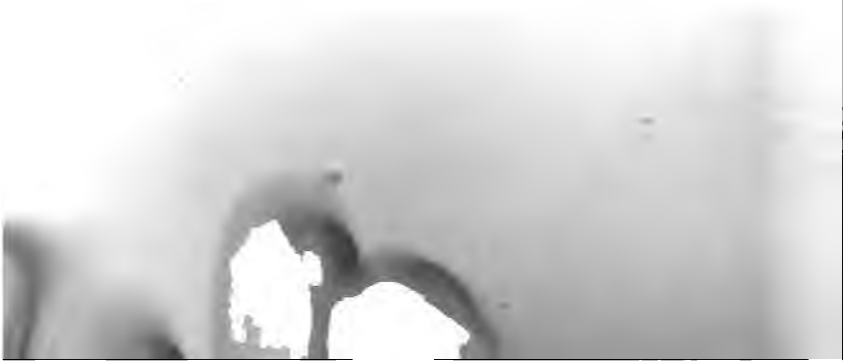

OF THE WORKS OF GOD AND MAN.

God beheld all things which his hands had made, and lo they were all passing good. But when man turned him about, and took a view of the works which his hands had made, he found all to be vanity and vexation of spirit: wherefore, if thou shalt work in the works of God, thy sweat shall be as an ointment of odours, and thy rest as the sabbaoth of God: thou shalt travail in the sweat of a good conscience, and shalt keep holy day in the quietness and liberty of the sweetest contemplations; but if thou shalt aspire after the glorious acts of men, thy working shall be accompanied with compunction and strife, and thy remembrance followed with distaste and upbraidings; and justly doth it come to pass towards thee, O man, that since thou, which art God's work, doest him no reason in yielding him well pleasing service, even thine own works also should reward thee with the like fruit of bitterness.

OF THE MIRACLES OF OUR SAVIOUR.

"He hath done all things well."

A true confession and applause. God when he created all things saw that every thing in particular and all things in general were exceeding good; God, the word in the miracles which he wrought, (now every miracle is a new creation, and not according to the first creation) would do nothing which breathed not towards men favour and bounty: Moses wrought miracles, and scourged the Egyptians with many

plagues: Elias wrought miracles, and shut up heaven, that no rain should fall upon the earth; and again brought down from heaven the fire of God upon the captains and their bands: Elizeus wrought also, and called bears out of the desart to devour young children: Peter struck Ananias, the sacrilegious hypocrite, with present death; and Paul, Elymas, the sorceror, with blindness; but no such thing did Jesus, the spirit of God descended down upon him in the form of a dove, of whom he said, "You know not of what spirit you are." The spirit of Jesus is the spirit of a dove; those servants of God were as the oxen of God treading out the corn, and trampling the straw down under their feet; but Jesus is the Lamb of God, without wrath or judgments; all his miracles were consummate about man's body, as his doctrine respected the soul of man: the body of man needeth these things; sustenance, defence from outward wrongs, and medicine; it was he that drew a multitude of fishes into the nets, that he might give unto men more liberal provision: He turned water, a less worthy nourishment of man's body, into wine, a more worthy, that glads the heart of man: He sentenced the fig-tree to wither for not doing that duty whereunto it was ordained, which is, to bear fruit for men's food: He multiplied the scarcity of a few loaves and fishes to a sufficiency to victual an host of people: He rebuked the winds that threatened destruction to the seafaring men: He restored motion to the lame, light to the blind, speech to the dumb, health to the sick, cleanness to

the leprous, a right mind to those that were possessed, and life to the dead. No miracle of his is to be found to have been of judgment or revenge, but all of goodness and mercy, and respecting man's body; for as touching riches he did not vouchsafe to do any miracle, save one only, that tribute might be given to Cæsar.

OF THE INNOCENCY OF THE DOVE, AND THE WISDOM OF THE SERPENT.

"The fool receiveth not the word of wisdom, except thou discover to him what he hath in his heart."

To a man of a perverse and corrupt judgment, all instruction or persuasion is fruitless and contemptible, which begins not with discovery and laying open of the distemper and ill complexion of the mind which is to be recured, as a plaster is unseasonably applied before the wound be searched; for men of corrupt understanding, that have lost all sound discerning of good and evil, come possest with this prejudicate opinion, that they think all honesty and goodness proceedeth out of a simplicity of manners, and a kind of want of experience and unacquaintance with the affairs of the world. Therefore, except they may perceive that those things which are in their hearts, that is to say, their own corrupt principles, and the deepest reaches of their cunning and rottenness to be thoroughly sounded, and known to him that goes about to persuade with them, they make but a play of the words of wisdom. Therefore it behoveth him which aspireth to a goodness

(not retired or particular to himself, but a fructifying and begetting goodness which should draw on others) to know those points, which be called in the Revelation the deeps of Satan, that he may speak with authority and true insinuation. Hence is the precept, "Try all things, and hold that which is good;" which endureth a discerning election out of an examination whence nothing at all is excluded: out of the same fountain ariseth that direction, "Be you "wise as serpents, and innocent as doves." There are neither teeth nor stings, nor venom, nor wreaths and folds of serpents, which ought not to be all known and, as far as examination doth lead, tried: neither let any man here fear infection or pollution, for the sun entereth into sinks and is not defiled; neither let any man think that herein he tempteth God, for his diligence and generality of examination is commanded, and God is sufficient to preserve you immaculate and pure.

OF THE EXALTATION OF CHARITY.

"If I have rejoiced at the overthrow of him that hated me, or took pleasure when adversity did befall him."

The detestation or renouncing, of Job. For a man to love again where he is loved, it is the charity of publicans contracted by mutual profit and good offices; but to love a man's enemies is one of the cunningest points of the law of Christ, and an imitation of the divine nature. But yet again, of this charity there be divers degrees; whereof the first is, to pardon our enemies when they repent: of which

charity there is a shadow and image, even in noble beasts; for of lions, it is a received opinion that their fury and fierceness ceaseth towards any thing that yieldeth and prostrateth itself, The second degree is, to pardon our enemies, though they persist, and without satisfactions and submissions, The third degree is, not only to pardon and forgive, and forbear our enemies, but to deserve well of them and to do them good: but all these three degrees either have or may have in them a certain bravery and greatness of the mind rather than pure charity; for when a man perceiveth virtue to proceed and flow from himself, it is possible that he is puffed up and takes contentment rather in the fruit of his own virtue than in the good of his neighbours; but if any evil overtake the enemy from any other coast than from thyself, and thou in the inwardest motions of thy heart be grieved and compassionate, and dost no ways insult, as if thy days of right and revenge were at the last come; this I interpret to be the height and exaltation of Charity.

OF THE MODERATION OF CARES.

"Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

There ought to be a measure in worldly cares otherwise they are both unprofitable, as those which oppress the mind and astonish the judgment, and prophane, as those which savour of a mind which promiseth to itself a certain perpetuity in the things of this world; for we ought to be day's men and not to-morrow's men, considering the shortness of our time; and as he saith, "Laying hold on the present

"day;" for future things shall in their turns become presents, therefore the care of the present sufficeth; and yet moderate cares (whether they concern our particular, or the commonwealth, or our friends) are not blamed. But herein is a two-fold excess; the one when the chain or thread of our cares, extended and spun out to an over great length, and unto times too far off, as if we could bind the divine providence by our provisions, which even with the heathen, was always found to be a thing insolent and unlucky; for those which did attribute much to fortune, and were ready at hand to apprehend with alacrity the present occasions, have for the most part in their actions been happy; but they who in a compass, wisdom, have entered into a confidence that they had belayed all events, have for the most part encountered misfortune. The second excess is, when we dwell longer in our cares than is requisite for due deliberating or firm resolving; for who is there amongst us that careth no more than sufficeth either to resolve of a course or to conclude upon an impossibility, and doth not still chew over the same things, and tread a maze in the same thoughts, and vanisheth in them without issue or conclusion: which kind of cares are most contrary to all divine and human respects.

OF EARTHLY HOPE.

"Better is the sight of the eye, than the apprehension of the mind."

Pure sense receiving every thing according to the natural impression, makes a better state and govern-

ment of the mind, than these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind; for the mind of man hath this nature and property even in the gravest and most settled wits, that from the sense of every particular, it doth as it were bound and spring forward, and take hold of other matters, foretelling unto itself that all shall prove like unto that which beateth upon the present sense; if the sense be of good, it easily runs into an unlimited hope, and into a like fear, when the sense is of evil, according as is said

"The oracles of hopes doth oft abuse,"

And that contrary,

"A froward soothsayer is fear in doubts."

But yet of fear there may be made some use; for it prepareth patience and awaketh industry,

"No shape of ill, comes new or strange to me,
"All sorts set down, yea, and prepared be."

But hope seemeth a thing altogether unprofitable; for to what end serveth this conceit of good. Consider and note a little if the good fall out less than thou hopest; good though it be, yet less because it is, it seemeth rather loss than benefit through thy excess of hope; if the good prove equal and proportionable in event to thy hope, yet the flower thereof by thy hope is gathered; so as when it comes the grace of it is gone, and it seems used, and therefore sooner draweth on satiety; admit thy success prove better than thy hope, it is true a gain seems to be made: but had it not been better to have gained the principal by hoping for nothing, than the increase by hoping for less; and this is the operation of hope

in good fortunes, but in misfortunes it weakeneth all force and vigour of the mind; for neither is there always matter of hope, and if there be, yet if it fail but in part, it doth wholly overthrow the constancy and resolution of the mind; and besides, though it doth carry us through, yet it is a greater dignity of mind to bear evils by fortitude and judgment, than by a kind of absenting and alienation of the mind from things present to things future, for that it is to hope. And therefore it was much lightness in the poets to fain hope to be as a counter-poison of human diseases, as to mitigate and assuage the fury and anger of them, whereas indeed it doth kindle and enrage them, and causeth both doubling of them and relapses. Notwithstanding we see that the greatest number of men give themselves over to their imaginations of hope and apprehensions of the mind in such sort, that ungrateful towards things past, and in a manner unmindful of things present, as if they were ever children and beginners, they are still in longing for things to come. "I saw all men walk-"ing under the sun, resort and gather to the second "person, which was afterwards to succeed: this is an "evil disease, and a great idleness of the mind."

But perhaps you will ask the question, whether it be not better, when things stand in doubtful terms, to presume the best, and rather hope well than distrust; specially seeing that hope doth cause a greater tranquillity of mind?

Surely I do judge a state of mind which in all doubtful expectations is settled and floateth not; and

phesy, as is delivered unto us by Jude, and did endow the church with the fruit of his prophesy which he left: and John Baptist, unto whom they did refer as to the author of a monastical life, travelled and exercised much in the ministry both of prophesy and baptizing; for as to these others, who are so officious towards God, to them belongeth that question, "If thou do justly what is that to God, or "what profit doth he take by thy hands?" Wherefore the works of mercy are they which are the works of distinction, whereby to find out hypocrites. But with heretics it is contrary; for as hypocrites, with their dissembling holiness towards God, do palliate and cover their injuries towards men; so heretics, by their morality and honest carriage towards men, insinuate and make a way with their blasphemies against God.

OF IMPOSTORS.

"Whether we be transported in mind it is to Godward;
"Or whether we be sober it is to youward."

This is the true image and true temper of a man, and of him that is God's faithful workman; his carriage and conversation towards God is full of passion, of zeal, and of tramisses; thence proceed groans unspeakable, and exultings likewise in comfort, ravishment of spirit and agonies; but contrariwise, his carriage and conversation towards men is full of mildness, sobriety, and appliable demeanour. Hence is that saying, "I am become all things to all men," and such like. Contrary it is with hypocrites and

duty towards God; whereof the reason is double, both because such works have a greater pomp and demonstration of holiness, and also because they do less cross their affections and desires; therefore the way to convict hypocrites, is to send them from the works of sacrifice to the works of mercy, whence cometh that saying:

"This is pure and immaculate religion with God "the Father, to visit orphans and widows in their "tribulations:" and that saying, "He that loveth "not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he "love God, whom he hath not seen."

Now there is another kind of deeper and more extravagant hypocrisy; for some, deceiving themselves, and thinking themselves worthy of a more near access and conversation with God, do neglect the duties of charity towards their neighbour, as inferior matters, which did not indeed cause originally the beginning of a monastical life (for the beginnings were good), but brought in that excess and abuse which are followed after; for it is truly said, "That "the office of praying is a great office in the church:" and it is for the good of the church that there be consorts of men freed from the cares of this world, who may with daily and devout supplications and observances solicit the divine Majesty for the causes of the church. But unto this ordinance, that other hypocrisy is a nigh neighbour; neither is the general institution to be blamed, but those spirits which exalt themselves too high to be refrained; for even Enoch, which was said to walk with God, did pro-

phesy, as is delivered unto us by Jude, and did endow the church with the fruit of his prophesy which he left: and John Baptist, unto whom they did refer as to the author of a monastical life, travelled and exercised much in the ministry both of prophesy and baptizing; for as to these others, who are so officious towards God, to them belongeth that question, "If thou do justly what is that to God, or "what profit doth he take by thy hands?" Wherefore the works of mercy are they which are the works of distinction, whereby to find out hypocrites. But with heretics it is contrary; for as hypocrites, with their dissembling holiness towards God, do palliate and cover their injuries towards men; so heretics, by their morality and honest carriage towards men, insinuate and make a way with their blasphemies against God.

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impostors, for they in the church, and before the people, set themselves on fire, and are carried as it were out of themselves, and becoming as men inspired with holy furies, they set heaven and earth together; but if a man did see their solitary and separate meditations and conversation whereunto God is only privy, he might, towards God, find them not only cold and without virtue, but also full of ill-nature and leaven; "Sober enough to God, "and transported only towards men."

OF THE SEVERAL KINDS OF IMPOSTURE.

"Avoid prophane strangeness of words, and oppositions of "knowledge falsely so called."

"Avoid fond and idle fables."

"Let no man deceive you by high speech."

There are three forms of speaking, which are as it were the style and phrase of imposture: the first kind is of them, who as soon as they have gotten any subject or matter do straight cast it into an art, inventing new terms of art, reducing all into divisions and distinctions; thence drawing assertions or positions, and so framing oppositions by questions and answers. Hence issueth the cobwebs and clatterings of the schoolmen.

The second kind is of them, who out of the vanity of their wit (as church poets) do make and devise all variety of tales, stories, and examples; whereby they may lead men's minds to a belief, from whence did grow the legends and infinite fabulous inventions and dreams of the ancient heretics.

The third kind is of them who fill men's ears with mysteries, high parables, allegories, and illusions; which mystical and profound form many of the heretics also made choice of. By the first kind of these, the capacity and wit of man is fettered and entangled; by the second, it is trained on and inveigled; by the third, it is astonished and enchanted; but by every of them the while it is seduced and abused.

OF ATHEISM.

"The fool hath said in his heart there is no God."

First, it is to be noted, that the Scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart," and not thought in his heart [illegible]

his heart that there is no God; secondly, it is to be observed, that he hath said in his heart, and not spoken it with his mouth. But again you shall note, that this smothering of this persuasion within the heart cometh to pass for fear of government and of speech amongst men; for, as he saith, "To deny "God in a public argument were much, but in a "familiar conference were current enough:" for if this bridle were removed, there is no heresy which would contend more to spread and multiply, and disseminate itself abroad, than atheism: neither shall you see those men which are drenched in this frenzy of mind to breathe almost any thing else, or to inculcate even without occasion any thing more than speech tending to atheism, as may appear in Lucresias the epicure, who makes of his invectives against religion as it were a burthen or verse of return to all his other discourses; the reason seems to be, for that the atheist not relying sufficiently upon himself, floating in mind and unsatisfied, and enduring within many faintings, and as it were fails of his opinion, desires by other men's opinions agreeing with his, to be recovered and brought again; for it is a true saying, "Whoso laboureth earnestly to "prove an opinion to another, himself distrusts it:" thirdly, it is a fool that hath so said in his heart, which is most true; not only in respect that he hath no taste in those things which are supernatural and divine; but in respect of human and civil wisdom: for first of all, if you mark the wits and dispositions which are inclined to atheism, you shall find them

light, scoffing, impudent, and vain; briefly of such a constitution as is most contrary to wisdom and moral gravity.

Secondly, amongst statesmen and politics, those which have been of greatest depths and compass, and of largest and most universal understanding, have not only in cunning made their profit in seeming religious to the people, but in truth have been touched with an inward sense of the knowledge of Deity, as they which you shall evermore note to have attributed much to fortune and providence.

Contrariwise, those who ascribed all things to their own cunning and practises, and to the immediate and apparent causes, and as the prophet saith, "Have sacrificed to their own nets," have been always but petty counterfeit statesmen, and not capable of the greatest actions.

Lastly, this I dare affirm in knowledge of nature, that a little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but on the other side, much natural philosophy and wading deep into it will bring about men's minds to religion; wherefore atheism every way seems to be joined and combined with folly and ignorance, seeing nothing can be more justly allotted to be the saying of fools than this, "There is no God."

OF HERESIES.

"You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God."

This canon is the mother of all canons against heresy; the causes of errour are two; the ignorance

of the will of God, and the ignorance or not sufficient consideration of his power; the will of God is more revealed by the Scriptures, and therefore the precept is, "Search the Scriptures:" the will of God is more revealed by the creatures, and therefore the precept is, "Behold and consider the creatures:" so is the fulness of the power of God to be affirmed as we make no imputation to his will, so is the goodness of the will of God to be affirmed, as we make no derogation from his power: therefore true religion seated in the mean betwixt superstition, with superstitious heresies on the one side, and atheism with prophane heresies on the other: superstition rejecting the light of the Scriptures, and giving itself over to ungrounded traditions, and writings doubtful and not canonical, or to new revelations, or to untrue interpretations of the Scriptures, themselves do forge and dream many things of the will of God, which are strange and far distant from the true sense of the Scriptures: but atheism and theomachy rebelleth and mutinieth against the power of God, giving no faith to his word which revealeth his will, upon a discredit and unbelief of his power to whom all things are possible. Now, those heresies which spring out of this fountain seem more heinous than the other; for even in civil governments it is held an offence in a higher degree to deny the power and authority of a prince than to touch his honour and fame. Of these heresies which derogate from the power of God beside plain atheism, there are three degrees, and they have all one and the same mystery; for all anti-christianity worketh in a mys-

ary, that is, under the shadow of good, and it is his, to free and deliver the will of God from all imputation and aspersion of evil. The first degree is of those who make and suppose two principles contrary and fighting one against the other, the one of good, the other of evil.

The second degree is of them to whom the majesty of God seems too much wronged, in setting up and erecting against him another adverse and opposite principle, namely, such a principle as should be active and affirmative, that is to say, cause or fountain of any essence or being: therefore rejecting all such presumption, they do nevertheless bring in against God a principal negative and privative, that is a cause of not being and subsisting, for they will have it to be an inbred proper work, and nature of the matter and creature itself, of itself to turn again and resolve into confusion and nothing, not knowing that it is an effect of one and the same omnipotency to make nothing of somewhat as to make somewhat of nothing. The third degree is, of those who abridge and restrain the former opinion only to those human actions which partake of sin, which actions they will have to depend substantively and originally, and without any sequel or subordination of causes upon the will, and make and set down and appoint larger limits of the knowledge of God than of his power or rather of that part of God's power (for knowledge itself is a power whereby he knoweth), than of that by which he moveth and worketh, making him foreknow some things idle, and as a looker on, which he doth not predestinate nor

ordain: not unlike to that devise which Epicurus brought into Democritus' opinion, to take away destiny, and make way to fortune, to wit; the start and slip of Attemus, which always of the wiser sort was rejected as a frivolous shift; but whatsoever depends not of God, as author and principle by inferior links and degrees, that must needs be in place of God, and a new principle, and a certain usurping God; wherefore worthily is that opinion refused as an indignity and derogation to the majesty and power of God, and yet it is most truly affirmed, that God is not the author of evil, not because he is not author, but because not as of evil.

OF THE CHURCH AND THE SCRIPTURES.

"Thou shalt protect them in thy tabernacle from the tradition "of tongues."

The contradiction of tongues doth every where meet with us out of the tabernacle of God, therefore whithersoever thou shalt turn thyself thou shalt find no end of controversies except thou withdraw thyself into that tabernacle. Thou wilt say it is true, and that it is to be understood of the unity of the church; but hear and note; there was in the tabernacle the ark, and in the ark the testimony or tables of the law: what dost thou tell me of the husk of the tabernacle without the kernel of the testimony: the tabernacle was ordained for the keeping and delivering over from hand to hand of the testimony. In like manner the custody and passing over of the Scriptures is committed unto the church, but the life of the tabernacle is the testimony.

OF
THE COLOURS
OF
GOOD AND EVIL.

A FRAGMENT.

A. D.
1597.

See the "Advancement of Learning," and the treatise De "Augmentis," under the title Rhetoric.

TO THE LORD MOUNTJOYE.

I send you the last part of the best book of Aristotle f Stagira, who, as your Lordship knoweth, goeth or the best author. But saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation, the man being Grecian, and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, hath so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good house-hen, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasants eggs. And yet perchance some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines, will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation, I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge, that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. Wherein as I do him right, being myself a man that am as free from envying the dead in contemplation, as from envying the living in action or fortune: so yet nevertheless still I say, and I speak it more largely than before, that in perusing the writings of this person so much celebrated, whether it were the impediment of his wit, or that he did it upon glory and affectation to be subtile, as one that if he had seen his own conceits clearly and perspicuously delivered, perhaps would have been out of love with them himself; or else upon policy, to

keep himself close, as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction: to what cause soever it is to be ascribed, I do not find him to deliver and unwrap himself well of that he seemeth to conceive; nor to be a master of his own knowledge. Neither do I for my part also, though I have brought in a new manner of handling this argument, to make it pleasant and lightsome, pretend so to have overcome the nature of the subject, but that the full understanding and use of it will be somewhat dark, and best pleasing the taste of such wits as are patient to stay the digesting and soluting unto themselves of that which is sharp and subtile. Which was the cause, joined with the love and honour which I bear to your lordship, as the person I know to have many virtues, and an excellent order of them, which moved me to dedicate this writing to your lordship after the ancient manner: choosing both a friend, and one to whom I conceived the argument was agreeable.

OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

In deliberatives the point is, what is good, and what is evil, and of good what is greater, and of evil what is less.

So that the persuader's labour is to make things appear good or evil, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be performed by true and solid reasons, so it may be represented also by colours, popularities and circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinary judgment either of a weak man, or of a wise man, not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subject in appearance, and so lead to error, they are of no less use to quicken and strengthen the opinions and persuasions which are true: for reasons plainly delivered, and always after one manner, especially with fine and fastidious minds, enter but heavily and dully: whereas if they be varied and have more life and vigour put into them by these forms and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddenly win the mind to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe judgment, nothing can be of greater use and defence to the mind, than the discovering and reprehension of these Colours, shewing in what cases they hold, and in what they deceive: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very universal knowledge of the nature of things, so being performed, it so cleareth man's judgment and election, as it is the less apt to slide into any error.

CAPITA SECTIONUM QUÆ IN BONI MALIQUE COLORUM TABULA CONTINENTUR.

1. Cui ceteræ partes vel sectæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent, melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero et merito tribuere.

2. Cujus excellentia vel exsuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.

3. Quod ad veritatem refertur majus est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem et probatio ejus quod ad opinionem pertinet hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset.

4. Quod rem integram servat bonum, quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentiæ genus est, potentia autem bonum.

5. Quod ex pluribus constat et divisibilibus, est majus quam quod ex paucioribus et magis unum: nam omnia per partes considerata majora videntur, quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert: fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, et impedit comprehensionem.

6. Cujus privatio bona, malum; cujus privatio mala, bonum.

7. Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remotum, malum.

8. Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, majus malum, quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.

9. Quod opera et virtute nostra partum est, majus bonum; quod ab alieno beneficio vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum est, minus bonum.

10. Gradus privationis major videtur quam gradus diminutionis; et rursus gradus inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus incrementi.

A Table of the colours or appearances of Good and Evil, and their degrees, as places of persuasion and dissuasion, and their several fallacies and the elenches of them.

I.

" Cui cateræ partes vel sectæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum " singulæ principatum sibi vindicent, melior reliquis videtur. " Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem " ex vero et merito tribuere "*

So Cicero went about to prove the sect of academics, which suspended all asseveration, for to be the best: for, saith he, ask a Stoic which philosophy is true, he will prefer his own. Then ask him which approacheth next the truth, he will confess the Academics. So deal with the Epicure, that will scant endure the Stoic to be in sight of him, so soon as he hath placed himself, he will place the Academics next him.

So if a prince took divers competitors to a place, and examined them severally, whom next themselves they would rarest commend, it were like the ablest man should have the most second voices.

The fallax of this colour happeneth oft in respect of envy, for men are accustomed after themselves and their own faction, to incline unto them

* " Since all parties or sects challenge the pre-eminence of the " first place to themselves, that to which all the rest with one " consent give the second place, seems to be better than the " others: for every one seems to take the first place out of " self-zeal but to give the second where it is really due."

which are softest, and are least in their way, in despite and derogation of them, that hold them hardest to it. So that this colour of meliority and preeminence is a sign of enervation and weakness.

II.

"Cujus excellentia vel exsuperantia melior, id toto genere melius."*

Appertaining to this are the forms: "Let us not "wander in generalities: Let us compare particular "with particular," &c. This appearance, though it seem of strength, and rather logical than rhetorical yet is very oft a fallax.

Sometime because some things are in kind very casual, which if they escape, prove excellent, so that the kind is inferior, because it is so subject to peril, but that which is excellent being proved is superior, as the blossom of March, and the blossom of May, whereof the French verse goeth:

"Burgeon de Mars, enfans de Paris,
"Si un eschape, il en vaut dix."

So that the blossom of May is generally better than the blossom of March, and yet the best blossom of March is better than the best blossom of May. Sometimes because the nature of some kinds is to be more equal, and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath been noted in the warmer climates, the people are generally more wise, but in the northern climates the wits of chief are greater. So in many armies, if the matter should

* "That kind is altogether best, whose excellence or pre "eminence is best."

be tried by duel between two champions, the victory should go on the one side, and yet if it be tried by the gross, it would go on the other side: for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kinds go by a more certain nature, as by discipline in war.

Lastly, many kinds have much refuse, which countervail that which they have excellent, and therefore generally metal is more precious than stone; and yet a diamond is more precious than gold.

III.

"Quod ad veritatem refertur majus est quam quod ad opinionem.
"Modus autem et probatio ejus quod ad opinionem pertinet
"hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset."*

So the Epicures say of the Stoics felicity placed in virtue; that it is like the felicity of a player, who if he were left of his auditory and their applause, he would straight be out of heart and countenance, and therefore they call virtue "bonum theatrale." But of riches the poet saith:

"Populus me sibilat,
"At mihi plaudo."

And of pleasure,

"Grata sub imo
"Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem.

The fallax of this colour is somewhat subtile, thou[illegible] the answer to the example be ready, for [illegible]

* "That which hath a relation [illegible] which refers to opinion: but the [illegible] which belongs to opinion is this: [illegible] not do, if he thought it would not be [illegible]

not comprehended by the sense or mind at once, in respect of the distracting or scattering of it; and being entire and not divided, is comprehended: as an hundred pounds in heaps of five pounds will shew more than in one gross heap, so as the heaps be all upon one table to be seen at once, otherwise not: as flowers growing scattered in divers beds will show more than if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot, that they be objects to view at once, otherwise not: and therefore men, whose living lieth together in one shire, are commonly counted greater landed than those whose livings are dispersed, though it be more, because of the notice and comprehension. A third case wherein this colour deceiveth, and it is not so properly a case of reprehension, as it is a counter colour, being in effect as large as the colour itself; and that is, "omnis compositio indigentiæ cujusdam videtur "esse particeps," because if one thing would serve the turn, it were ever best, but the defect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them up; as it is said, "Martha, Martha, "attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit." So likewise hereupon Æsop framed the fable of the fox and the cat; whereas the fox bragged what a number of shifts and devices he had to get from the hounds, and the cat said she had but one, which was to climb a tree, which in proof was better worth than all the rest; whereof the proverb grew, "Multa novit "vulpes, sed felis unum magnum." And in the moral of this fable it comes likewise to pass, that

a good sure friend is a better help at a pinch, than all the stratagems and policies of a man's own wit. So it falleth out to be a common errour in negociating, whereas men have many reasons to induce or persuade, they strive commonly to utter and use them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth, as was said, a neediness in every of the reasons by itself, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself only with that: "Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant." Indeed in a set speech in an assembly, it is expected a man should use all his reasons in the case he handleth, but in private persuasions it is always a great errour. A fourth case wherein this colour may be reprehended, is in respect of that same "vis unita "fortior," according to the tale of the French king, that when the emperor's ambassador had recited his master's stile at large, which consisteth of many countries and dominions; the French king willed his chancellor, or other minister, to repeat and say over France as many times as the other had recited the several dominions; intending it was equivalent with them all, and besides more compacted and united. There is also appertaining to this colour another point, why breaking of a thing doth help it, not by way of adding a shew of magnitude unto it, but a note of excellency and rarity; whereof the forms are, Where shall you find such a concurrence; Great but not complete; for it seems a less work of nature or fortune, to make any thing in his kind greater than ordinary than to make a strange composition. Yet if it be narrowly

considered, this colour will be reprehended or encountered, by imputing to all excellencies in compositions a kind of poverty, or at least a casualty or jeopardy; for from that which is excellent in greatness, somewhat may be taken, or there may be decay, and yet sufficiency left; but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any thing, or any part do fail, all is disgrace.

VI.

" Cujus privatio bona, malum; cujus privatio mala, bonum."*

The forms to make it conceived, that that was evil which is changed for the better, are, He that is in hell thinks there is no other heaven. " Satis " quercus," Acorns were good till bread was found, &c. And of the other side, the forms to make it conceived, that that was good which was changed for the worse, are, " Bona magis carendo quam " fruendo sentimus: Bona a tergo formosissima:" Good things never appear in their full beauty, till they turn their back and be going away, &c.

The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or evil which is removed, may be esteemed good or evil comparatively, and not positively or simply. So that if the privation be good, it follows not the former condition was evil, but less good: for the flower or blossom is a positive good, although the remove of it to give place to the fruit, be a comparative

* " That whose privation (or the want of which) is good, is in " itself evil; that whose privation (or the want whereof) is an " evil, is in itself good."

good. So in the tale of Æsop, when the old fainting man in the heat of the day cast down his burden, and called for Death; and when Death came to know his will with him, said, it was for nothing but to help him up with his burden again: it doth not follow, that because Death, which was the privation of the burden, was ill, therefore the burden was good. And in this part, the ordinary form of "malum necessarium" aptly reprehendeth this colour; for "privatio mali necessarii est mala," and yet that doth not convert the nature of the necessary evil, but it is evil.

Again, it cometh sometimes to pass, that there is an equality in the change of privation, and as it were a "dilemma boni," or a "dilemma mali:" so that the corruption of the one good, is a generation of the other. "Sorti pater æquus utrique est:" and contrary, the remedy of the one evil is the occasion and commencement of another, as in Scylla and Charybdis.

VII.

"Quod bono vicinum, bonum; quod a bono remotum, malum."*

Such is the nature of things, that things contrary, and distant in nature and quality, are also severed and disjoined in place: and things like and consenting in quality, are placed, and as it were quartered together: for, partly in regard of the nature to spread, multiply, and infect in similitude; and partly in regard of the nature to break, expel,

* "What is near to good, is good; what is at a distance from "good, is evil."

and alter that which is disagreeable and contrary, most things do either associate, and draw near to themselves the like, or at least assimilate to themselves that which approacheth near them, and do also drive away, chase and exterminate their contraries. And that is the reason commonly yielded, why the middle region of the air should be coldest, because the sun and stars are either hot by direct beams, or by reflection. The direct beams heat the upper region, the reflected beams from the earth and seas heat the lower region. That which is in the midst, being farthest distant in place from these two regions of heat, are most distant in nature, that is, coldest; which is, that they term cold or hot "per "antiperistasin," that is, environing by contraries: which was pleasantly taken hold of by him that said, that an honest man, in these days, must needs be more honest than in ages heretofore, "propter anti-"peristasin," because the shutting of him in the midst of contraries, must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in itself.

The reprehension of this colour is: first, many things of amplitude in their kind do as it were ingross to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute: as the shoots or underwood, that grow near a great and spread tree, is the most pined and shrubby wood of the field, because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sap and nourishment; so he saith well, "divitis servi maxime "servi;" and the comparison was pleasant of him, that compared courtiers attendant in the courts of princes without great place or office, to fasting-days.

which were next the holy-days, but otherwise were the leanest days in all the week.

Another reprehension is, that things of greatness and predominancy, though they do not extenuate the things adjoining in substance, yet they drown them and obscure them in show and appearance; and therefore the astronomers say, That whereas in all other planets conjunction is the perfectest amity: the sun contrariwise is good by aspect, but evil by conjunction.

A third reprehension is, because evil approacheth to good sometimes for concealment, sometimes for protection; and good to evil for conversion and reformation. So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for coverts and hiding itself; "sæpe latet vitium "proximitate boni:" and sanctuary-men, which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates, and holy men; for the majesty of good things is such, as the confines of them are revered. On the other side, our Saviour, charged with nearness of publicans and rioters, said, "The physician approacheth the "sick rather than the whole."

VIII.

"Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, majus malum, quod ab "externis imponitur, minus malum."*

The reason is, because the sting and remorse of the mind accusing itself doubleth all adversity: con-

* "That which a man hath procured by his own default is a "greater mischief (or evil): that which is laid on him by others "is a lesser evil."

trariwise, the considering and recording inwardly, that a man is clear and free from fault and just imputation, doth attemper outward calamities. For if the evil be in the sense, and in the conscience both, there is a gemination of it; but if evil be in the one, and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compensation: so the poets in tragedies do make the most passionate lamentations, and those that fore-run final despair, to be accusing, questioning, and torturing of a man's self.

"Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum."

And contrariwise, the extremities of worthy persons have been annihilated in the consideration of their own good deserving. Besides, when the evil cometh from without, there is left a kind of evaporation of grief, if it come by human injury, either by indignation, and meditating of revenge from ourselves, or by expecting or fore-conceiving that Nemesis and retribution will take hold of the authors of our hurt: or if it be by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kind of expostulation against the divine powers;

"Atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater."

But where the evil is derived from a man's own fault, there all strikes deadly inwards and suffocateth.

The reprehension of this colour is, first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faults is "in nostra "potestate;" but amendment of our fortune simply is not. Therefore, Demosthenes, in many of his orations, saith thus to the people of Athens: "That "which having regard to the time past is the worst "point and circumstance of all the rest; that as to

"the time to come is the best: what is that? Even "this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and misgoverna- "ment, your affairs are grown to this declination and "decay. For had you used and ordered your means "and forces to the best, and done your parts every "way to the full, and, notwithstanding, your mat- "ters should have gone backward in this manner, as "they do, there had been no hope left of recovery or "reparation; but since it hath been only by your own "errours," &c. So Epictetus in his degrees saith, "The worst state of man is to accuse external things, "better than that to accuse a man's self, and best of "all to accuse neither."

Another reprehension of this colour is, in respect of the well bearing of evils wherewith a man can charge nobody but himself, which maketh them the less

"Leve fit quod bene fertur onus."

And therefore many natures that are either extremely proud, and will take no fault to themselves, or else very true and cleaving to themselves, when they see the blame of any thing that falls out ill must light upon themselves, have no other shift but to bear it out well, and to make the least of it; for as we see when sometimes a fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much ado is made of it; but after, if it appear to be done by a son, or by a wife, or by a near friend, then it is light made of: so much more when a man must take it upon himself. And therefore it is commonly seen, that women that marry husbands of their own

choosing against their friends consents, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldom see them complain, but set a good face on it.

IX.

" Quod opera et virtute nostra partum est, majus bonum; quod " ab alieno beneficio vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum, est " minus bonum."*

The reasons are, first, the future hope, because in the favours of others, or the good winds of fortune, we have no state or certainty; in our endeavours or abilities we have. So as when they have purchased us one good fortune, we have them as ready, and better edged, and inured to procure another.

The forms be: you have won this by play, you have not only the water, but you have the receipt, you can make it again if it be lost, &c.

Next, because these properties which we enjoy by the benefit of others, carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kind of burden; whereas the other, which derive from ourselves, are like the freest parents, " absque aliquo inde reddendo;" and if they proceed from fortune or providence, yet they seem to touch us secretly with the reverence of the divine powers, whose favours we taste, and therefore work a kind of religious fear and restraint: whereas in the other kind, that comes to pass which

* " That which is gotten by our own pains and industry is a " greater good: that which comes by another man's courtesy, or " the indulgence of fortune, is a lesser good."

the prophet speaketh, "Lætantur et exultant, immo-
"lant plagis suis, et sacrificant reti suo."

Thirdly, because that which cometh unto us without our own virtue, yieldeth not that commendation and reputation: for actions of great felicity may draw wonder, but praise less; as Cicero said to Cæsar, "Quæ miremur, habemus; quæ laudemus, "expectamus."

Fourthly, because the purchases of our own industry are joined commonly with labour and strife, which gives an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our desires more pleasant. "Suavis "cibus a venatu."

On the other side, there be four counter colours to this colour, rather than reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour itself. First, because felicity seemeth to be a character of the favour and love of the divine powers, and accordingly worketh both confidence in ourselves, and respect and authority from others. And this felicity extendeth to many casual things, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good; as when Cæsar said to the sailor, "Cæsarem portas et fortunam ejus;" if he had said, "et virtutem ejus," it had been small comfort against a tempest, otherwise than if it might seem upon merit to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoever is done by virtue and industry, seems to be done by a kind of habit and art, and therefore open to be imitated and followed; whereas felicity is inimitable: so we generally see, that things

of nature seem more excellent than things of art, because they be inimitable: for "quod imitabile est, "potentia quadam vulgatum est."

Thirdly, felicity commendeth those things which come without our labour; for they seem gifts, and the other seem pennyworths: whereupon Plutarch saith elegantly of the acts of Timoleon, who was so fortunate, compared with the acts of Agesilaus and Epaminondas; that they were like Homer's verses, they ran so easily and so well. And therefore it is the word we give unto poesy, terming it a happy vein, because facility seemeth ever to come from happiness.

Fourthly, this same "præter spem, vel præter "expectatum," doth increase the price and pleasure of many things: and this cannot be incident to those things that proceed from our own care and compass.

X.

"Gradus privationis major videtur, quam gradus diminutionis; "et rursus gradus inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus in- "crementi."*

It is a position in the mathematics, that there is no proportion between somewhat and nothing, therefore the degree of nullity and quiddity or act, seemeth larger than the degrees of increase and decrease; as to a "monoculus" it is more to lose one eye than to a man that hath two eyes. So if one have lost divers

* "The degree of privation seems greater than the degree of "diminution: and again, the degree of inception (or beginning) "seems greater than the degree of increase."

children, it is more grief to him to lose the last than all the rest; because he is "spes gregis." And therefore Sibylla, when she brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the burning of that had been "gradus privationis," and not "dimi-"nutionis."

This colour is reprehended first in those things, the use and service whereof resteth in sufficiency, competency, or determinate quantity: as if a man be to pay one hundred pounds upon a penalty, it is more to him to want twelve pence, than after that twelve pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more; so the decay of a man's estate seems to be most touched in the degree, when he first grows behind, more than afterwards, when he proves nothing worth. And hereof the common forms are, "Sera in fundo parsimonia," and, as good never a whit, as never the better, &c. It is reprehended also in respect of that notion, "Corruptio unius, gene-"ratio alterius:" so that "gradus privationis" is many times less matter, because it gives the cause and motive to some new course. As when Demosthenes reprehended the people for hearkening to the conditions offered by king Philip, being not honourable nor equal, he saith they were but aliments of their sloth and weakness, which if they were taken away, necessity would teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor Hector was wont to say to the dames of London, when they complained they were they could

not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine; he would tell them, their way was only to be sick, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this colour may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decrease is more sensitive than the degree of privation; for in the mind of man "gradus diminutionis" may work a wavering between hope and fear, and so keep the mind in suspense, from settling and accommodating in patience and resolution. Hereof the common forms are, better eye out than always ache; make or marr, &c.

For the second branch of this colour, it depends upon the same general reason: hence grew the common place of extolling the beginning of every thing: "dimidium facti qui bene cœpit habet." This made the astrologers so idle as to judge of a man's nature and destiny, by the constellation of the moment of his nativity or conception. This colour is reprehended, because many inceptions are but, as Epicurus termeth them, "tentamenta," that is, imperfect offers and essays, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration; so as in such cases the second degree seems the worthiest, as the body-horse in the cart, that draweth more than the fore-horse. Hereof the common forms are, the second blow makes the fray, the second word makes the bargain: "Alter "principium dedit, alter modum abstulit," &c. Another reprehension of this colour is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseverance of greater

dignity than inception: for chance or instinct of nature may cause inception: but settled affection, or judgment, maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this colour is reprehended in such things, which have a natural course and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the inception is continually evacuated and gets no start: but there behoveth "perpetua inceptio" as in the common form. "Non progredi est regredi, qui non "proficit deficit" running against the hill, rowing against the stream, &c. For if it be with the stream or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more than all the rest.

Fourthly, this colour is to be understood of "gradus inceptionis a potentia ad actum, comparatus "cum gradu ad actu ad incrementum." For otherwise "major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad poten-"tiam, quam a potentia ad actum."

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
UPON
HUMAN PHILOSOPHY.

MR. BACON

IN PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE.

SILENCE were the best celebration of that, which I mean to commend; for who would not use silence, where silence is not made? and what crier can make silence in such a noise and tumult of vain and popular opinions? My praise shall be dedicated to the mind itself. The mind is the man, and the knowledge of the mind. A man is but what he knoweth. The mind itself is but an accident to knowledge; for knowledge is a double of that which is. The truth of being, and the truth of knowing, is all one: and the pleasures of the affections greater than the pleasures of the senses. And are not the pleasures of the intellect greater than the pleasures of the affections? Is it not a true and only natural pleasure, whereof there is no satiety? Is it not knowledge that doth alone clear the mind of all perturbations? How many things are there which we imagine not? How many things do we esteem and value otherwise than they are? This ill-proportioned estimation, these vain imaginations, these be the clouds of errour that turn into the storms of perturbation. Is there any such happiness as for a man's mind to be raised above the confusion of things; where he may

have the prospect of the order of nature, and the errour of men? Is this but a vein only of delight, and not of discovery? of contentment, and not of benefit? Shall we not as well discern the riches of nature's warehouse, as the benefit of her shop? Is truth ever barren? Shall he not be able thereby to produce worthy effects, and to endow the life of man with infinite commodities? But shall I make this garland to be put upon a wrong head? Would any body believe me, if I should verify this, upon the knowledge that is now in use? Are we the richer by one poor invention, by reason of all the learning that hath been these many hundred years? The industry of artificers maketh some small improvement of things invented; and chance sometimes in experimenting, maketh us to stumble upon somewhat which is new: but all the disputation of the learned never brought to light one effect of nature before unknown. When things are known and found out, then they can descant upon them, they can knit them into certain causes, they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit, it can work nothing. I do not doubt but that common notions which we call reason, and the knitting of them together, which we call logic, are the art of reason and studies. But they rather cast obscurity, than gain light to the contemplation of nature. All the philosophy of nature which is now received, is either the philosophy of the Grecians, or that other of the al-

That of the Grecians hath the foundations in words, in ostentation, in confutation, in sects, in schools, in disputations. The Grecians were, as one of themselves saith, "you Grecians, ever children." They knew little antiquity; they knew, except fables, not much above five hundred years before themselves. They knew but a small portion of the world. That of the alchemists hath the foundation in imposture, in auricular traditions and obscurity. It was catching hold of religion, but the principle of it is, "Populus vult decipi." So that I know no great difference between these great philosophers, but that the one is a loud crying folly, and the other is a whispering folly. The one is gathered out of a few vulgar observations, and the other out of a few experiments of a furnace. The one never faileth to multiply words, and the other ever faileth to multiply gold. Who would not smile at Aristotle, when he admireth the eternity and invariableness of the heavens, as there were not the like in the bowels of the earth? Those be the confines and borders of these two kingdoms, where the continued alteration and incursion are. The superficies and upper parts of the earth are full of varieties. The superficies and lower parts of the heavens, which we call the middle region of the air, is full of variety. There is much spirit in the one part, that cannot be brought into mass. There is much massy body in the other place, that cannot be refined to spirit. The common air is as the waste ground between the borders. Who would not smile at the astronomers, I mean not these

few carmen which drive the earth about, but the ancient astronomers, which feign the moon to be the swiftest of the planets in motion, and the rest in order, the higher the slower; and so are compelled to imagine a double motion: whereas how evident is it, that that which they call a contrary motion, is but an abatement of motion. The fixed stars overgo Saturn, and so in them and the rest, all is but one motion, and the nearer the earth the slower. A motion also whereof air and water do participate, though much interrupted. But why do I in a conference of pleasure enter into these great matters, in sort that pretending to know much, I should forget what is seasonable? Pardon me, it was because all things may be endowed and adorned with speeches, but knowledge itself is more beautiful than any apparel of words that can be put upon it. And let me not seem arrogant without respect to these great reputed authors. Let me so give every man his due, as I give time his due, which is to discover truth. Many of these men had greater wits, far above mine own, and so are many in the Universities of Europe at this day. But alas, they learn nothing there but to believe: first, to believe that others know that which they know not; and after, themselves know that which they know not But indeed facility to believe, impatience to doubt, temerity to answer, glory to know, doubt to contradict, end to gain, sloth to search, seeking things in words, resting in part of nature; these and the like, have been the things which have forbidden the happy match between the

mind of man and the nature of things; and in place thereof have married it to vain notions and blind experiments: and what the posterity and issue of so honourable a match may be, it is not hard to consider. Printing, a gross invention; artillery, a thing that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a thing partly known before: what a change have these three made in the world in these times; the one in state of learning, the other in state of the war, the third in the state of treasure, commodities, and navigation? And those, I say, were but stumbled upon and lighted upon by chance. Therefore, no doubt, the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge; wherein many things are reserved, which kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command; their spials and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and discoverers cannot sail where they grow: now we govern nature in opinions, but we are thrall unto her in necessity; but if we would be led by her in invention, we should command her in action.

VALERIUS TERMINUS

OF

THE INTERPRETATION OF NATURE:

WITH THE

ANNOTATIONS OF HERMES STELLA.

A FEW FRAGMENTS OF THE FIRST BOOK:

[None of the Annotations of Stella are set down in these Fragments.]

CHAP. I.

Of the limits and end of knowledge.

In the divine nature, both religion and philosophy hath acknowledged goodness in perfection, science or providence comprehending all things, and absolute sovereignty or kingdom. In aspiring to the throne of power, the angels trangressed and fell; in presuming to come within the oracle of knowledge, man transgressed and fell; but in pursuit towards the similitude of God's goodness or love, which is one thing, for love is nothing else but goodness put in motion or applied, neither man or spirit ever hath transgressed, or shall transgress.

The angel of light that was, when he presumed before his fall, said within himself, "I will ascend "and be like unto the Highest;" not God, but the Highest. To be like to God in goodness, was no part of his emulation: knowledge, being in creation

an angel of light, was not the want which did most solicit him; only because he was a minister he aimed at a supremacy; therefore his climbing or ascension was turned into a throwing down or precipitation.

Man on the other side, when he was tempted before he fell, had offered unto him this suggestion, "that he should be like unto God." But how? not simply, but in this part, "knowing good and evil." For being in his creation invested with sovereignty of all inferior creatures, he was not needy of power or dominion. But again, being a spirit newly inclosed in a body of earth, he was fittest to be allured with appetite of light and liberty of knowledge. Therefore this approaching and intruding into God's secrets and mysteries, was rewarded with a further removing and estranging from God's presence. But as to the goodness of God, there is no danger in contending or advancing towards a similitude thereof; as that which is open and propounded to our imitation. For that voice, whereof the heathen and all other errours of religion have ever confessed that it sounds not like man, "Love your enemies; be you "like unto your heavenly Father, that suffereth his "rain to fall both upon the just and the unjust," doth well declare, that we can in that point commit no excess. So again we find it often repeated in the old law, "Be you holy as I am holy;" and what is holiness else but goodness, as we consider it separate and guarded from all mixture, and all access of evil?

Wherefore seeing that knowledge is of the num-

ber of those things which are to be accepted of with caution and distinction; being now to open a fountain, such as it is not easy to discern where the issues and streams thereof will take and fall; I thought it good and necessary in the first place, to make a strong and sound head or bank to rule and guide the course of the waters; by setting down this position or firmament, namely, "That all knowledge is to be "limited by religion, and to be referred to use and "action."

For if any man shall think, by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things, to attain to any light for the revealing of the nature or will of God, he shall dangerously abuse himself. It is true, that the contemplation of the creatures of God hath for end, as to the natures of the creatures themselves, knowledge; but as to the nature of God, no knowledge, but wonder: which is nothing else but contemplation broken off, or losing itself. Nay further, as it was aptly said by one of Plato's school, "the sense of man resembles the sun, which openeth "and revealeth the terrestrial globe, but obscureth "and concealeth the celestial;" so doth the sense discover natural things, but darken and shut up divine. And this appeareth sufficiently in that there is no proceeding in invention of knowledge, but by similitude; and God is only self-like, having nothing in common with any creature, otherwise than as in shadow and trope. Therefore attend his will a himself openeth it, and give unto faith that whi unto faith belongeth; for more worthy it is to b

lieve, than to think or know, considering that in knowledge, as we now are capable of it, the mind suffereth from inferior natures; but in all belief it suffereth from a spirit, which it holdeth superior, and more authorised than itself.

To conclude; the prejudice hath been infinite, that both divine and human knowledge hath received by the intermingling and tempering of the one with the other: as that which hath filled the one full of heresies, and the other full of speculative fictions and vanities.

But now there are again, which, in a contrary extremity to those which give to contemplation an over-large scope, do offer too great a restraint to natural and lawful knowledge; being unjustly jealous that every reach and depth of knowledge wherewith their conceits have not been acquainted, should be too high an elevation of man's wit, and a searching and ravelling too far into God's secrets; an opinion that ariseth either of envy, which is proud weakness, and to be censured and not confuted, or else of a deceitful simplicity. For if they mean that the ignorance of a second cause doth make men more devoutly to depend upon the providence of God, as supposing the effects to come immediately from his hand; I demand of them, as Job demanded of his friends, "Will you lie for God, as man will for "man to gratify him? But if any man, without any sinister humour, doth indeed make doubt that this digging further and further into the mine of natural knowledge, is a thing without example, and un-

commended in the Scriptures, or fruitless; let him remember and be instructed: for behold it was not that pure light of natural knowledge, whereby man in paradise was able to give unto every living creature a name according to his propriety, which gave occasion to the fall; but it was an aspiring desire to attain to that part of moral knowledge, which defineth of good and evil, whereby to dispute God's commandments, and not to depend upon the revelation of his will, which was the original temptation. And the first holy records, which within those brief memorials of things which passed before the flood, entered few things as worthy to be registered, but only lineages and propagations, yet nevertheless honour the remembrance of the inventor both of music and works in metal. Moses again, who was the reporter, is said to have been seen in all the Egyptian learning, which nation was early and leading in matter of knowledge. And Solomon the king, as out of a branch of his wisdom extraordinarily petitioned and granted from God, is said to have written a natural history of all that is green, from the cedar to the moss, which is but a rudiment between putrefaction and an herb, and also of all that liveth and moveth. And if the book of Job be turned over, it will be found to have much aspersion of natural philosophy. Nay, the same Solomon the king affirmeth directly, that the glory of God "is to conceal a thing, but the glory of the king is to find it out," as if, according to the innocent play of children, the divine Majesty took delight [illegible] his

works, to the end to have them found out; for in naming the king he intendeth man, taking such a condition of man as hath most excellency and greatest commandment of wits and means, alluding also to his own person, being truly one of those clearest burning lamps, whereof himself speaketh in another place, when he saith "The spirit of man is as "the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth all in-"wardness;" which nature of the soul the same Solomon holding precious and inestimable, and therein conspiring with the affection of Socrates, who scorned the pretended learned men of his time for raising great benefit of their learning, whereas Anaxagoras contrariwise, and divers others, being born to ample patrimonies, decayed them in contemplation, delivereth it in precept yet remaining, "Buy the truth, and sell it not; and so of wisdom "and knowledge."

And lest any man should retain a scruple, as if this thirst of knowledge were rather an humour of the mind, than an emptiness or want in nature, and an instinct from God; the same author defineth of it fully, saying, "God hath made every "thing in beauty according to season; also he hath "set the world in man's heart, yet can he not find "out the work which God worketh from the begin-"ning to the end:" declaring not obscurely that God hath framed the mind of man as a glass, capable of the image of the universal world, joying to receive the signature thereof, as the eye is of light; yea, not only satisfied in beholding the variety of things,

and vicissitude of times, but raised also to find out and discern those ordinances and decrees, which throughout all these changes are infallibly observed. And although the highest generality of motion, or summary law of nature, God should still reserve within his own curtain; yet many and noble are the inferior and secondary operations which are within man's sounding. This is a thing which I cannot tell whether I may so plainly speak as truly conceive, that as all knowledge appeareth to be a plant of God's own planting, so it may seem the spreading and flourishing, or at least the bearing and fructifying of this plant, by a providence of God, nay, not only by a general providence, but by a special prophecy, was appointed to this autumn of the world: for to my understanding, it is not violent to the letter, and safe now after the event, so to interpret that place in the prophecy of Daniel, where, speaking of the latter times, it is said, "Many shall pass to and "fro, and science shall be increased;" as if the opening of the world by navigation and commerce, and the further discovery of knowledge, should meet in one time or age.

But howsoever that be, there are besides the authorities of Scriptures before recited, two reasons of exceeding great weight and force, why religion should dearly protect all increase of natural knowledge: the one, because it leadeth to the greater exaltation of the glory of God; for as the Psalms and other Scriptures do often invite us to consider, and to magnify the great and wonderful works of God; so if

we should rest only in the contemplation of those shews which first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury to the majesty of God, as if we should judge of the store of some excellent jeweller, by that only which is set out to the street in his shop. The other reason is, because it is a singular help and a preservative against unbelief and errour; for, saith our Saviour, "You err, not knowing the "Scriptures, nor the power of God;" laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from errour; first, the Scriptures revealing the will of God, and then the creatures expressing his power; for that latter book will certify us, that nothing which the first teacheth shall be thought impossible. And most sure it is, and a true conclusion of experience, that a little natural philosophy inclineth the mind to atheism, but a further proceeding bringeth the mind back to religion.

To conclude then: Let no man presume to check the liberality of God's gifts, who, as was said, "hath "set the world in man's heart." So as whatsoever is not God, but parcel of the world, he hath fitted it to the comprehension of man's mind, if man will open and dilate the powers of his understanding as he may.

But yet evermore it must be remembered, that the least part of knowledge passed to man by this so large a charter from God, must be subject to that use for which God hath granted it, which is the benefit and relief of the state and society of man: for otherwise all manner of knowledge becometh malign

and serpentine, and therefore, as carrying the quality of the serpent's sting and malice, it maketh the mind of man to swell; as the Scripture saith excellently, "Knowledge bloweth up, but charity buildeth "up." And again, the same author doth notably disavow both power and knowledge, such as is not dedicated to goodness or love; for saith he, "If I have "all faith, so as I could remove mountains," there is power active; "If I render my body to the fire," there is power passive; "if I speak with the tongues "of men and angels," there is knowledge, for language is but the conveyance of knowledge, "all "were nothing."

And therefore it is not the pleasure of curiosity, nor the quiet of resolution, nor the raising of the spirit, nor victory of wit, nor faculty of speech, nor lucre of profession, nor ambition of honour or fame, or inablement for business, that are the true ends of knowledge; some of these being more worthy than other, though all inferior and degenerate: but it is a restitution and reinvesting, in great part, of man to the sovereignty and power, for whensoever he shall be able to call the creatures by their true names, he shall again command them, which he had in his first state of creation. And to speak plainly and clearly, it is a discovery of all operations and possibilities of operations from immortality, if it were possible, to the meanest mechanical practice. And therefore knowledge, that tendeth but to satisfaction, is but as a courtesan, which is for pleasure, and not for fruit or generation. And knowledge that tendeth to pro-

fit or profession, or glory, is but as the golden ball thrown before Atalanta; which while she goeth aside, and stoopeth to take up, she hindereth the race. And knowledge referred to some particular point of use, is but as Harmodius, which putteth down one tyrant: and not like Hercules, who did perambulate the world to suppress tyrants and giants and monsters in every part.

It is true, that in two points the curse is peremptory, and not to be removed: the one, that vanity must be the end in all human effects; eternity being resumed though the revolutions and periods may be delayed. The other, that the consent of the creature being now turned into reluctation, this power cannot otherwise be exercised and administered but with labour, as well in inventing as in executing; yet nevertheless chiefly that labour and travel which is described by the sweat of the brows, more than of the body; that is, such travel as is joined with the working and discursion of the spirits in the brain: for as Solomon saith excellently, "The fool putteth "to more strength, but the wise man considereth "which way;" signifying the election of the mean to be more material than the multiplication of endeavour. It is true also that there is a limitation rather potential than actual, which is when the effect is possible, but the time or place yieldeth not the matter or basis whereupon man should work. But notwithstanding these precincts and bounds, let it be believed, and appeal thereof made to time, with renunciation nevertheless to all the vain and abusing

promises of alchemists and magicians, and such like light, idle, ignorant, credulous, and fantastical wits and sects, that the new-found world of land was not greater addition to the ancient continent, than there remaineth at this day a world of inventions and sciences unknown, having respect to those that are known, with this difference, that the ancient regions of knowledge will seem as barbarous, compared with the new; as the new regions of people seem barbarous, compared to many of the old.

The dignity of this end, of endowment of man's life with new commodities, appeareth by the estimation that antiquity made of such as guided thereunto; for whereas founders of states, lawgivers, extirpers of tyrants, fathers of the people, were honoured but with the titles of worthies or demigods, inventors were ever consecrated amongst the gods themselves. And if the ordinary ambitions of men lead them to seek the amplification of their own power in their countries, and a better ambition than that hath moved men to seek the amplification of the power of their own countries amongst other nations; better again and more worthy must that aspiring be, which seeketh the amplification of the power and kingdom of mankind over the world: the rather, because the other two prosecutions are ever culpable of much perturbation and injustice; but this is a work truly divine, which cometh "in "aura leni," without noise or observation.

The access also to this work hath been by that port or passage, which the Divine Majesty, who is

unchangeable in his ways, doth infallibly continue and observe; that is, the felicity wherewith he hath blessed an humility of mind, such as rather laboureth to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volumes of his creatures, than to solicit and urge, and as it were to invocate a man's own spirit to divine, and give oracles unto him. For as in the inquiry of divine truth, the pride of man hath ever inclined to leave the oracles of God's word, and to vanish in the mixture of their own inventions; so in the self-same manner, in inquisition of nature, they have ever left the oracles of God's works, and adored the deceiving and deformed imagery, which the unequal mirrours of their own minds have represented unto them. Nay, it is a point fit and necessary in the front, and beginning of this work, without hesitation or reservation to be professed, that it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge, than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it, "except he become first as a little child."

Of the impediments of knowledge.

Being the IVth chapter, the preface only of it.

In some things it is more hard to attempt than to achieve; which falleth out, when the difficulty is not so much in the matter or subject, as it is in the crossness and indisposition of the mind of man to think of any such thing, to will or to resolve it; and therefore Titus Livius in his declamatory digression, wherein he doth depress and extenuate the honour of

Alexander's conquests saith, " Nihil aliud quam bene " ausus vana contemnere :" in which sort of things it is the manner of men first to wonder that any such thing should be possible, and after it is found out, to wonder again how the world should miss it so long. Of this nature I take to be the invention and discovery of knowledge, &c.

The impediments which have been in the times, and in diversion of wits.

Being the Vth chapter, a small fragment in the beginning of that chapter.

The incounters of the times have been nothing favourable and prosperous for the invention of knowledge, so as it is not only the daintiness of the seed to take, and the ill mixture and unliking of the ground to nourish or raise this plant, but the ill season also of the weather, by which it hath been checked and blasted. Especially in that the seasons have been proper to bring up and set forward other more hasty and indifferent plants, whereby this of knowledge hath been starved and overgrown ; for in the descent of times always there hath been somewhat else in reign and reputation, which hath generally aliened and diverted wits and labours from that employment.

For as for the uttermost antiquity, which is like fame that muffles her head, and tells tales, I cannot presume much of it ; for I would not willingly imitate the manner of those that describe maps, which when they come to some far countries, whereof they

have no knowledge, set down how there be great wastes and desarts there: so I am not apt to affirm that they knew little, because what they knew is little known to us. But if you will judge of them by the last traces that remain to us, you will conclude though not so scornfully as Aristotle doth, that saith our ancestors were extreme gross, as those that came newly from being moulded out of the clay, or some earthly substance; yet reasonably and probably thus, that it was with them in matter of knowledge, but as the dawning or break of day. For at that time the world was altogether home-bred, every nation looked little beyond their own confines or territories, and the world had no thorough lights then, as it hath had since by commerce and navigation, whereby there could neither be that contribution of wits one to help another, nor that variety of particulars for the correcting the customary conceits.

And as there could be no great collection of wits of several parts or nations, so neither could there be any succession of wits of several times, whereby one might refine the other, in regard they had not history to any purpose. And the manner of their traditions was utterly unfit and unproper for amplification of knowledge. And again, the studies of those times, you shall find, besides wars, incursions, and rapines, which were then almost every where betwixt states adjoining, the use of leagues and confederacies being not then known, were to populate by multitude of wives and generation, a thing at this day in the waster part of the West-Indies principally effected;

and to build, sometimes for habitation, towns and cities; sometimes for fame and memory, monuments, pyramids, colosses, and the like. And if there happened to rise up any more civil wits; then would he found and erect some new laws, customs, and usages, such as now of late years, when the world was revolute almost to the like rudeness and obscurity, we see both in our own nation and abroad many examples of, as well in a number of tenures reserved upon mens lands, as in divers customs of towns and manors, being the devises that such wits wrought upon in such times of deep ignorance, &c.

The impediments of knowledge for want of a true succession of wits, and that hitherto the length of one man's life hath been the greatest measure of knowledge.

Being the VIth chapter, the whole chapter.

In arts mechanical the first devise cometh shortest, and time addeth and perfecteth. But in sciences of conceit, the first author goeth furthest, and time leeseth and corrupteth. Painting, artillery, sailing, and the like, grossly managed at first, by time accommodate and refined. The philosophies and sciences of Aristotle, Plato, Democritus, Hippocrates, of most vigour at first, by time degenerated and imbased. In the former, many wits a[illegible] tries contributed in one. In the latter [illegible] wits spent to deprave the wit of one.

The errour is both in the delivere[illegible] receiver. He that delivereth knowledge,

deliver it in such form as may be soonest believed, and not as may easiliest be examined. He that receiveth knowledge desireth rather present satisfaction than expectant search, and so rather not to doubt than not to err. Glory maketh the author not to lay open his weakness: and sloth maketh the disciple not to know his strength.

Then begin men to aspire to the second prizes, to be a profound interpreter and commenter, to be a sharp champion and defender, to be a methodical compounder and abridger. And this is the unfortunate succession of wits which the world hath yet had, whereby the patrimony of all knowledge goeth not on husbanded or improved, but wasted and decayed. For knowledge is like a water, that will never arise again higher than the level from which it fell. And therefore to go beyond Aristotle by the light of Aristotle, is to think that a borrowed light can increase the original light from whom it is taken. So then, no true succession of wits having been in the world; either we must conclude, that knowledge is but a task for one man's life, and then vain was the complaint, that "life is short, and art is long:" or else, that the knowledge that now is, is but a shrub; and not that tree which is never dangerous, but where it is to the purpose of knowing good and evil; which desire ever riseth upon an appetite to elect, and not to obey, and so containeth in it a manifest defection.

That the pretended succession of wits hath been evil placed, for as much as after variety of sects and opinions, the most popular and not the truest prevaileth and weareth out the rest.

Being the VIIth chapter, a fragment.

It is sensible to think, that when men enter first into search and inquiry, according to the several frames and compositions of their understanding, they light upon differing conceits, and so all opinions and doubts are beaten over; and then men having made a taste of all, wax weary of variety, and so reject the worst, and hold themselves to the best, either some one, if it be eminent: or some two or three, if they be in some equality, which afterwards are received and carried on, and the rest extinct.

But truth is contrary; and that time is like a river which carrieth down things which are light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is sad and weighty. For howsoever governments have several forms, sometimes one governing, sometimes few, sometimes the multitude; yet the state of knowledge is ever a democracy, and that prevaileth which is most agreeable to the senses and conceits of people. As for example, there is no great doubt, but he that did put the beginnings of things to be solid, void, and motion to the centre, was in better earnest than he that put matter, form, and shift; or he that put the mind, motion, and matter. For no man will enter into inquisition of nature, but shall pass [illegible] opinion of Democritus; whereas he shall nev[illegible]

near the other two opinions, but leave them aloof, for the schools and table-talk. Yet those of Aristotle and Plato, because they be both agreeable to popular sense, and the one was uttered with subtilty and the spirit of contradiction, and the other with a stile of ornament and majesty, did hold out, and the other gave place, &c.

Of the impediments of knowledge, in handling it by parts, and in slipping off particular sciences from the root and stock of universal knowledge.

Being the VIIIth chapter, the whole chapter.

Cicero, the orator, willing to magnify his own profession, and thereupon spending many words to maintain that eloquence was not a shop of good words and eleganties, but a treasury and receipt of all knowledges, so far forth as may appertain to the handling and moving of the minds and affections of men by speech, maketh great complaint of the school of Socrates; that whereas before his time the same professors of wisdom in Greece did pretend to teach an universal sapience and knowledge both of matter and words, Socrates divorced them, and withdrew philosophy, and left rhetoric to itself, which by that destitution became but a barren and unnoble science. And in particular sciences we see, that if men fall to subdivide their labours, as to be an oculist in physic, or to be perfect in some one title of the law or the like, they may prove ready and subtile, but not deep or sufficient, no, not in that subject which they do particularly attend, because of that

consent which it hath with the rest. And it is a matter of common discourse of the chain of sciences, how they are linked together, insomuch as the Grecians, who had terms at will, have fitted it of a name of Circle-Learning. Nevertheless I that hold it for a great impediment towards the advancement and further invention of knowledge, that particular arts and sciences have been disincorporated from general knowledge, do not understand one and the same thing, which Cicero's discourse and the note and conceit of the Grecians in their word Circle-Learning do intend. For I mean not that use which one science hath of another for ornament or help in practice, as the orator hath of knowledge of affections for moving, or as military science may have use of geometry for fortifications; but I mean it directly of that use by way of supply of light and information, which the particulars and instances of one science do yield and present for the framing or correcting of the axioms of another science in their very truth and notion. And therefore that example of oculists and title lawyers doth come nearer my conceit than the other two; for sciences distinguished have a dependence upon universal knowledge to be augmented and rectified by the superior light thereof; as well as the parts and members of a science have upon the maxims of the same science, and the mutual light and consent which one part receiveth of another. And therefore the opinion of Copernicus in astronomy, which astronomy itself cannot correct, because it is not repugnant to any of the appearances, yet natural

philosophy doth correct. On the other side, if some of the ancient philosophers had been perfect in the observations of astronomy, and had called them to counsel when they made their principles and first axioms, they would never have divided their philosophy, as the cosmographers do their descriptions by globes, making one philosophy for heaven, and another for under heaven, as in effect they do.

So if the moral philosophers, that have spent such an infinite quantity of debate touching good and the highest good, had cast their eye abroad upon nature, and beheld the appetite that is in all things to receive and to give; the one motion affecting preservation, and the other multiplication; which appetites are most evidently seen in living creatures, in the pleasure of nourishment and generation; and in man do make the aptest and most natural division of all his desires, being either of sense of pleasure, or sense of power; and in the universal frame of the world are figured, the one in the beams of heaven which issue forth, and the other in the lap of the earth which takes in: and again, if they had observed the motion of congruity, or situation of the parts in respect of the whole, evident in so many particulars: and lastly, if they had considered the motion, familiar in attraction of things, to approach to that which is higher in the same kind: when by these observations, so easy and concurring in natural philosophy, they should have found out this quaternion of good, in enjoying or fruition, effecting or operation, consenting or proportion, and approach or assumption; they would have saved and abridged

much of their long and wandering discourses of pleasure, virtue, duty, and religion. So likewise in this same logic and rhetoric, or acts of argument and grace of speech, if the great masters of them would but have gone a form lower, and looked but into the observations of grammar concerning the kinds of words, their derivations, deflexions, and syntax, specially enriching the same, with the helps of several languages, with their differing properties of words, phrases, and tropes; they might have found out more and better footsteps of common reason, help of disputation, and advantages of cavillation, than many of these which they have propounded. So again, a man should be thought to dally, if he did note how the figures of rhetoric and music are many of them the same. The repetitions and traductions in speech, and the reports and hauntings of sounds in music, are the very same things. Plutarch hath almost made a book of the Lacedæmonian kind of jesting, which joined every pleasure with distaste. "Sir," said a man of art to Philip king of Macedon, when he controlled him in his faculty, "God forbid your "fortune should be such as to know these things "better than I." In taxing his ignorance in his art, he represented to him the perpetual greatness of his fortune, leaving him no vacant time for so mean a skill. Now in music it is one of the ordinariest flowers to fall from a discord, or hard tune, upon a sweet accord. The figure that Cicero and the rest commend, as one of the best points of elegancy, which is the fine checking of expectation, is no less well known to the musicians, when they have a

special grace in flying the close or cadence. And these are no allusions but direct communities, the same delights of the mind being to be found not only in music, rhetoric, but in moral philosophy, policy, and other knowledges, and that obscure in the one, which is more apparent in the other; yea, and that discovered in the one, which is not found at all in the other; and so one science greatly aiding to the invention and augmentation of another. And therefore, without this intercourse, the axioms of sciences will fall out to be neither full nor true; but will be such opinions, as Aristotle in some places doth wisely censure, when he saith, "These are the "opinions of persons that have respect but to a few "things." So then we see, that this note leadeth us to an administration of knowledge in some such order and policy, as the king of Spain, in regard of his great dominions, useth in state: who, though he hath particular councils for several countries and affairs, yet hath one council of state, or last resort, that receiveth the advertisements and certificates from all the rest. Hitherto of the diversion, succession, and conference of wits.

That the end and scope of knowledge hath been generally mistaken, and that men were never well advised what it was they sought.

Being the IXth chapter, immediately preceding the Inventory, and inducing the same.

It appeareth then how rarely the wits and labours of men have been converted to the severe and ori-

ginal inquisition of knowledge; and in those who have pretended, what hurt hath been done by the affectation of professors, and the distraction of such as were no professors; and how there was never in effect any conjunction or combination of wits in the first and inducing search, but that every man wrought apart, and would either have his own way, or else would go no further than his guide, having in the one case the honour of a first, and in the other the ease of a second; and lastly, how in the descent and continuance of wits and labours, the succession hath been in the most popular and weak opinions, like unto the weakest natures, which many times have most children; and in them also the condition of succession hath been rather to defend and to adorn, than to add; and if to add, yet that addition to be rather a refining of a part, than an increase of the whole. But the impediments of time and accidents, though they have wrought a general indisposition, yet are they not so peremptory and binding, as the internal impediments and clouds in the mind and spirit of man, whereof it now followeth to speak.

The Scripture, speaking of the worst sort of errour, saith, "Errare fecit eos in invio et non in via." For a man may wander in the way, by rounding up and down; but if men have failed in their very direction and address, that errour will never by good fortune correct itself. Now it hath fared with men in their contemplations, as Seneca saith it fareth with them in their actions, "De partibus vitæ quisque deliberat, "de summa nemo." A course very ordinary with men

who receive for the most part their final ends from the inclination of their nature, or from common example and opinion, never questioning or examining them, nor reducing them to any clear certainty; and use only to call themselves to account and deliberation touching the means and second ends, and thereby set themselves in the right way to the wrong place. So likewise upon the natural curiosity and desire to know, they have put themselves in way without foresight or consideration of their journey's end.

For I find that even those that have sought knowledge for itself, and not for benefit, or ostentation, or any practical enablement in the course of their life, have nevertheless propounded to themselves a wrong mark, namely, satisfaction, which men call truth, and not operation. For as in the courts and services of princes and states, it is a much easier matter to give satisfaction than to do the business; so in the inquiring of causes and reasons it is much easier to find out such causes as will satisfy the mind of man, and quiet objections, than such causes as will direct him and give him light to new experiences and inventions. And this did Celsus note wisely and truly, how that the causes which are in use, and whereof the knowledges now received do consist, were in time minors and subsequents to the knowledge of the particulars, out of which they were induced and collected; and that it was not the light of those causes which discovered particulars, but only the particulars being first found, men did

fall on glossing and discoursing of the causes; which is the reason, why the learning that now is hath the curse of barrenness, and is courtesan-like, for pleasure, and not for fruit. Nay, to compare it rightly, the strange fiction of the poets of the transformation of Scylla, seemeth to be a lively emblem of this philosophy and knowledge: a fair woman upward in the parts of show, but when you come to the parts of use and generation, barking monsters: for no better are the endless distorted questions, which ever have been, and of necessity must be, the end and womb of such knowledge. . . . . .

But yet nevertheless, here I may be mistaken, by reason of some which have much in their pen the referring sciences to action and the use of man, which mean quite another matter than I do. For they mean a contriving of directions, and precepts for readiness of practice, which I discommend not, so it be not occasion that some quantity of the science be lost; for else it will be such a piece of husbandry, as to put away a manor lying somewhat scattered, to buy in a close that lieth handsomely about a dwelling. But my intention contrariwise is to increase and multiply the revenues and possessions of man, and not to trim up only, or order with conveniency the grounds whereof he is already stated. Wherefore the better to make myself understood, that I mean nothing less than words, and directly to demonstrate the point which we are now upon, that is, what is the true end, scope, or office of knowledge, which I have set down to con-

sist not in any plausible, delectable, reverend, or admired discourse, or any satisfactory arguments, but in effecting and working, and in discovery of particulars not revealed before, for the better endowment and help of man's life; I have thought good to make, as it were, a kalendar or inventory of the wealth, furniture, or means of man, according to his present estate, as far as it is known; which I do not to shew any universality of sense or knowledge, and much less to make a satire of reprehension in respect of wants and errours, but partly because cogitations new had need of some grossness and inculcation to make them perceived, and chiefly to the end, that for the time to come, upon the account and state now made and cast up, it may appear what increase this new manner of use and administration of the stock, if it be once planted, shall bring with it hereafter; and for the time present, in case I should be prevented by death to propound and reveal this new light as I purpose, yet I may at the least give some awaking note, both of the wants in man's present condition, and the nature of the supplies to be wished; though for mine own part neither do I much build upon my present anticipations, neither do I think ourselves yet learned or wise enough to wish reasonably: for as it asks some knowledge to demand a question not impertinent; so it asketh some sense, to make a wish not absurd.

The Inventory, or an enumeration and view of inventions already discovered in use, together with a note of the wants, and the nature of the supplies.

Being the Xth chapter; and this a small fragment thereof, being the preface to the Inventory.

The plainest method, and most directly pertinent to this intention, will be to make distribution of sciences, arts, inventions, works, and their portions, according to the use and tribute which they yield and render to the conditions of man's life, and under those several uses, being as several offices of provisions, to charge and tax what may be reasonably exacted or demanded, not guiding ourselves neither by the poverty of experiences and probations, nor according to the vanity of credulous imaginations; and then upon those charges and taxations to distinguish and present, as it were, in several columns, what is extant and already found, and what is defective and further to be provided. Of which provisions, because in many of them, after the manner of slothful and faulty officers and accomptants, it will be returned, by way of excuse, that no such are to be had, it will be fit to give some light of the nature of the supplies, whereby it will evidently appear, that they are to be compassed and procured. And yet nevertheless on the other side again, it will be as fit to check and controul the vain and void assignations and gifts, whereby certain ignorant, extravagant, and abusing wits have pretended to indue the state of man with wonders, differing as much from truth in nature, as

Cæsar's Commentaries differeth from the acts of King Arthur, or Huon of Bourdeaux in story. For it is true that Cæsar did greater things than those idle wits had the audacity to feign their supposed worthies to have done; but he did them not in that monstrous and fabulous manner.

The chapter immediately following the Inventory.

Being the XIth in order, a part thereof,

It appeareth then, what is now in proposition, not by general circumlocution, but by particular note, no former philosophy varied in terms or method; no new placet or speculation upon particulars already known; no referring to action by any manual of practice, but the revealing and discovering of new inventions and operations. This to be done without the errours and conjectures of art, or the length or difficulties of experience; the nature and kinds of which inventions have been described as they could be discovered; for your eye cannot pass one kenning without further sailing: only we have stood upon the best advantages of the notions received, as upon a mount, to shew the knowledges adjacent and confining, If therefore the true end of knowledge not propounded, hath bred large errour, the best and perfectest condition of the same end, not perceived, will cause some declination. For when the butt is set up, men need not rove, but except the white be placed, men cannot level. This perfection we mean, not in the worth of the effects,

but in the nature of the direction; for our purpose is not to stir up men's hopes, but to guide their travels. The fulness of direction to work, and produce any effect, consisteth in two conditions, certainty and liberty. Certainty is, when the direction is not only true for the most part, but infallible. Liberty is, when the direction is not restrained to some definite means, but comprehendeth all the means and ways possible: for the poet saith well, "Sapientibus undique latæ sunt viæ;" and where there is the greatest plurality of change, there is the greatest singularity of choice. Besides, as a conjectural direction maketh a casual effect, so a particular and restrained direction is no less casual than uncertain. For those particular means whereunto it is tied, may be out of your power, or may be accompanied with an overvalue of prejudice; and so if for want of certainty in direction, you are frustrated in success, for want of variety in direction you are stopped in attempt. If therefore your direction be certain, it must refer you, and point you to somewhat, which if it be present, the effect you seek will of necessity follow, else may you perform and not obtain. If it be free, then must it refer you to somewhat, which if it be absent, the effect you seek will of necessity withdraw, else may you have power and not attempt. This notion Aristotle had in light, though not in use. For the two commended rules by him set down, whereby the a
sciences are precepted to be made conver
which the latter men have not without eleg

named, the one the rule of truth, because it preventeth deceit, the other the rule of prudence, because it freeth election, are the same thing in speculation and affirmation, which we now observe. An example will make my meaning attained, and yet percase make it thought that they attained it not.

Let the effect to be produced be whiteness; let the first direction be, that if air and water be intermingled, or broken in small portions together, whiteness will ensue, as in snow, in the breaking of the ways of the sea and rivers, and the like. This direction is certain, but very particular, and restrained, being tied but to air and water. Let the second direction be, that if air be mingled as before with any transparent body, such nevertheless as is uncoloured and more grossly transparent than air itself, that then, &c. as glass or crystal, being beaten to fine powder, by the interposition of the air becometh white; the white of an egg, being clear of itself, receiving air by agitation, becometh white, receiving air by concoction becometh white; here you are freed from water, and advanced to a clear body, and still tied to air. Let the third direction exclude or remove the restraint of an uncoloured body, as in amber, sapphires, &c. which beaten to fine powder, become white in wine and beer; which brought to froth, become white. Let the fourth direction exclude the restraint of a body more grossly transparent than air, as in flame, being a body compounded between air and a finer substance than air; which flame if it were not for the smoke, which is the third

substance that incorporateth itself and dieth, the flame would be more perfect white. In all these four directions air still beareth a part. Let the fifth direction then be, that if any bodies, both transparent, but in an unequal degree, be mingled as before, whiteness will follow: as oil and water beaten to an ointment, though by settling, the air which gathereth in the agitation be evaporate, yet remaineth white; and the powder of glass, or crystal, put into water, whereby the air giveth place, yet remaineth white, though not so perfect. Now are you freed from air, but still you are tied to transparent bodies. To ascend further by scale I do forbear, partly because it would draw on the example to an over-great length, but chiefly because it would open that which in this work I determine to reserve; for to pass through the whole history and observation of colours and objects visible, were too long a digression; and our purpose is now to give an example of a free direction, thereby to distinguish and describe it; and not to set down a form of interpretation how to recover and attain it. But as we intend not now to reveal, so we are circumspect not to mislead; and therefore, this warning being given, returning to our purpose in hand, we admit the sixth direction to be, that all bodies, or parts of bodies, which are unequal equally, that is, in a simple proportion, do represent whiteness; we will explain this, though we induce it not. It is then to be understood, that absolute equality produceth transparence, inequality in simple order or proportion produceth whiteness, inequality in com-

pound or respective order or proportion produceth other colours, and absolute or orderless inequality produceth blackness; which diversity, if so gross a demonstration be needful, may be signified by four tables; a blank, a chequer, a fret, and a medley; whereof the fret is evident to admit great variety. Out of this assertion are satisfied a multitude of effects and observations, as that whiteness and blackness are most incompatible with transparence; that whiteness keepeth light, and blackness stoppeth light, but neither passeth it; that whiteness or blackness are never produced in rainbows, diamonds, crystals, and the like; that white giveth no dye, and black hardly taketh dye; that whiteness seemeth to have an affinity with dryness, and blackness with moisture; that adustion causeth blackness, and calcination whiteness; that flowers are generally of fresh colours, and rarely black, &c. all which I do now mention confusedly by way of derivation, and not by way of induction. This sixth direction, which I have thus explained, is of good and competent liberty, for whiteness fixed and inherent; but not for whiteness fantastical, or appearing, as shall be afterwards touched. But first do you need a reduction back to certainty or verity; for it is not all position or contexture of unequal bodies that will produce colours; for aqua fortis, oil of vitriol, &c. more manifestly, and many other substances more obscurely, do consist of very unequal parts, which yet are transparent and clear. Therefore the reduction must be, that the bodies or parts of bodies so inter-

mingled as before, be of a certain grossness or magnitude, for the unequalities which move the sight must have a further dimension and quantity than those which operate many other effects. Some few grains of saffron will give a tincture to a tun of water, but so many grains of civet will give a perfume to a whole chamber of air. And therefore when Democritus, from whom Epicurus did borrow it, held that the position of the solid portions was the cause of colours; yet in the very truth of this assertion he should have added, that the portions are required to be of some magnitude. And this is one cause why colours have little inwardness and necessitude with the nature and proprieties of things, those things resembling in colour, which otherwise differ most, as salt and sugar; and contrariwise differing in colour, which otherwise resemble most, as the white and blue violets, and the several veins of one agate or marble, by reason that other virtues consist in more subtile proportions than colours do; and yet are there virtues and natures which require a grosser magnitude than colours, as well as scents and divers other require a more subtile; for as the portion of a body will give forth scent, which is too small to be seen, so the portion of a body will shew colours, which is too small to be endued with weight: and therefore one of the prophets with great elegancy describing how all creatures carry no proportion towards God the creator, saith, "That all the nations "in respect of him are like the dust upon the balance;" which is a thing appeareth, but weigheth

not. But to return, there resteth a further freeing of this sixth direction: for the clearness of a river or stream sheweth white at a distance, and crystalline glasses deliver the face or any other object falsified in whiteness, and long beholding the snow to a weak eye giveth an impression of azure, rather than of whiteness. So as for whiteness in apparition only, and representation, by the qualifying of the light, altering the intermedium, or affecting the eye itself, it reacheth not. But you must free your direction to the producing of such an incidence, impression, or operation, as may cause a precise and determinate passion of the eye, a matter which is much more easy to induce than that which we have passed through; but yet because it hath a full coherence both with that act of radiation, which hath hitherto been conceived and termed so unproperly and untruly, by some, an effluxion of spiritual species, and by others, an investing of the intermedium, with a motion which successively is conveyed to the eye, and with the act of sense, wherein I should likewise open that which I think good to withdraw, I will omit.

Neither do I contend, but that this notion, which I call the freeing of a direction in the received philosophies, as far as a swimming anticipation could take hold, might be perceived and discerned; being not much other matter than that which they did not only aim at in the two rules of axioms before remembered, but more nearly also than that which they term the form or formal cause, or that which they call the

true difference; both which nevertheless, it seemeth they propound rather as impossibilities and wishes, than as things within the compass of human comprehension: for Plato casteth his burthen, and saith, "that he will revere him as a God, that can truly "divide and define;" which cannot be but by true forms and differences, wherein I join hands with him, confessing as much, as yet assuming to myself little; for if any man can, by the strength of his anticipations, find out forms, I will magnify him with the foremost. But as any of them would say, that if divers things, which many men know by instruction and observation, another knew by revelation, and without those means, they would take him for somewhat supernatural and divine; so I do acknowledge that if any man can by anticipations reach to that which a weak and inferior wit may attain to by interpretation, he cannot receive too high a title. Nay, I for my part do indeed admire to see how far some of them have proceeded by their anticipations; but how? it is as I wonder at some blind men, to see what shift they make without their eye-sight; thinking with myself that if I were blind, I could hardly do it. Again, Aristotle's school confesseth, that there is no true knowledge but by causes, no true cause but the form, no true form known except one, which they are pleased to allow; and therefore thus far their evidence standeth with us, that both hitherto there hath been nothing but a shadow of knowledge, and that we propound now that which is agreed to be worthiest to be sought, and hard-

est to be found. There wanteth now a part very necessary, not by way of supply, but by way of caution: for as it is seen for the most part, that the outward tokens and badge of excellency and perfection are more incident to things merely counterfeit, than to that which is true, but for a meaner and baser sort; as a dubline is more like a perfect ruby than a spinel, and a counterfeit angel is made more like a true angel, than if it were an angel coined of China gold; in like manner, the direction carrieth a resemblance of a true direction in verity and liberty, which indeed is no direction at all. For though your direction seem to be certain and free, by pointing you to nature that is unseparable from the nature you enquire upon; yet if it do not carry you on a degree or remove nearer to action, operation, or light, to make or produce, it is but superficial and counterfeit. Wherefore to secure and warrant what is a true direction, though that general note I have given be perspicuous in itself, for a man shall soon cast with himself, whether he be ever the near to effect and operate or no, or whether he have won but an abstract or varied notion, yet for better instruction I will deliver three particular notes of caution. The first is, that the nature discovered be more original than the nature supposed, and not more secondary or of the like degree; as to make a stone bright, or to make it smooth, it is a good direction to say make it even; but to make a stone even, it is no good direction to say, make it bright, or make it smooth; for the rule is, that the disposition of any thing

referring to the state of it in itself, or the parts, is more original than that which is relative or transitive towards another thing. So evenness is the disposition of the stone in itself, but smooth is to the hand, and bright to the eye, and yet nevertheless they all cluster and concur; and yet the direction is more unperfect, if it do appoint you to such a relative, as is in the same kind, and not in a diverse. For in the direction, to produce brightness by smoothness, although properly it win no degree, and will never teach you any new particulars before unknown, yet by way of suggestion, or bringing to mind, it may draw your consideration to some particulars known but not remembered; as you shall sooner remember some practical means of making smoothness, than if you had fixed your consideration only upon brightness; but if the direction had been to make brightness, by making reflection, as thus, make it such as you may see your face in it; this is merely secondary, and helpeth neither by way of informing, nor by way of suggesting. So if in the inquiry of whiteness you were directed to make such a colour as should be seen furthest in a dark light; here you are advanced nothing at all. For these kinds of natures are but proprieties, effects, circumstances, concurrences, or what else you shall like to call them, and not radical and formative natures towards the nature supposed. The second caution is, that the nature inquired be collected by division before composition, or to speak more pro-

perly, by composition subaltern, before you ascend to composition absolute, &c.

Of the internal and profound errours and superstitions in the nature of the mind, and of the four sorts of idols or fictions which offer themselves to the understanding in the inquisition of knowledge.

Being the XVIth chapter, and this a small fragment thereof, being a preface to the inward elenches of the mind.

The opinion of Epicurus, that the gods were of human shape, was rather justly derided than seriously confuted by the other sects, demanding whether every kind of sensible creatures did not think their own figure fairest, as the horse, the bull, and the like, which found no beauty but in their own forms, as in appetite of lust appeared. And the heresy of the Anthropomorphites was ever censured for a gross conceit, bred in the obscure cells of solitary monks that never looked abroad. Again, the fable so well known of "Quis pinxit leonem," doth set forth well, that there is an errour of pride and partiality, as well as of custom and familiarity. The reflection also from glasses so usually resembled to the imagery of the mind, every man knoweth to receive errour and variety both in colour, magnitude, and shape, according to the quality of the glass. But yet no use hath been made of these and many the like observations to move men to search out, and upon search to give true cautions of the native and inherent errours in the mind of man, which have coloured and corrupted all his notions and impressions.

I do find therefore in this enchanted glass four idols, or false appearances of several and distinct sorts, every sort comprehending many subdivisions: the first sort, I call idols of the nation or tribe; the second, idols of the palace; the third, idols of the cave; and the fourth, idols of the theatre, &c.

Here followeth an abridgment of divers chapters of the first book of the INTERPRETATION OF NATURE.

CHAP. XII.

That in deciding and determining of the truth of knowledge, men have put themselves upon trials not competent. That antiquity and authority, common and confessed notions, the natural and yielding consent of the mind, the harmony and coherence of a knowledge in itself, the establishing of principles with the touch and reduction of other propositions unto them, inductions without instances contradictory and the report of the senses, are none of them absolute and infallible evidence of truth; and bring no security sufficient for effects and operations. That the discovery of new works or active directions not known before, is the only trial to be accepted of; and yet not that neither, in case where one particular giveth light to another; but where particulars induce an axiom or observation, which axiom found out discovereth and designeth new particulars. That the nature of this trial is not only upon the point, whether the knowledge be profitable or no, but even upon the points whether the knowledge be true or no. Not because you may

always conclude, that the axiom which discovereth new instances is true; but contrariwise you may safely conclude, that if it discover not any new instance, it is in vain and untrue. That by new instances are not always to be understood new recipes, but new assignations; and of the diversity between these two. That the subtilty of words, arguments, notions, yea of the senses themselves, is but rude and gross in comparison of the subtilty of things. And of the slothful and flattering opinions of those which pretend to honour the mind of man in withdrawing and abstracting it from particulars; and of the inducements and motives whereupon such opinions have been conceived and received.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the errour in propounding chiefly the search of causes and productions of things concrete, which are infinite and transitory; and not of abstract natures, which are few and permanent. That these natures are as the alphabet or simple letters, whereof the variety of things consisteth; or as the colours mingled in the painter's shell, wherewith he is able to make infinite variety of faces or shapes. An enumeration of them according to popular note. That at the first one would conceive that in the schools by natural philosophy were meant the knowledge of the efficients of things concrete; and by metaphysics the knowledge of the forms of natures simple; which is a good and fit division of knowledge: but upon examination there is no such matter by them in-

tended. That the little inquiry into the production of simple natures, sheweth well that works were not sought; because by the former knowledge some small and superficial deflexions from the ordinary generations and productions may be found out, but the discovery of all profound and radical alteration must arise out of the latter knowledge.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the errour in propounding the search of the materials, or dead beginnings or principles of things, and not the nature of motions, inclinations, and applications. That the whole scope of the former search is impertinent and vain; both because there are no such beginnings, and if there were they could not be known. That the latter manner of search, which is all, they pass over compendiously and slightly as a bye matter. That the several conceits in that kind; as that the lively and moving beginnings of things should be shift or appetite of matter to privation; the spirit of the world, working in matter according to platform; the proceeding or fructifying of distinct kinds according to their proprieties; the intercourse of the elements by mediation of their common qualities; the appetite of like portions to unite themselves; amity and discord, or sympathy and antipathy; motion to the centre, with motion of stripe or press; the casual agitation, segregation, and essays of the solid part space; motion of shuttings and op mere nugations. And that the calcu

nation of the true degrees, moments, limits and laws of motions and alterations, by means whereof all works and effects are produced, is a matter of a far other nature than to consist in such easy and wild generalities.

CHAP. XV.

Of the great errour of inquiring knowledge in anticipations. That I call anticipations, the voluntary collections that the mind maketh of knowledge, which is every man's reason. That though this be a solemn thing, and serves the turn to negotiate between man and man, because of the conformity and participation of mens minds in the like errours, yet towards inquiry of the truth of things and works it is of no value. That civil respects are a lett that this pretended reason should not be so contemptibly spoken of, as were fit and medicinable, in regard that hath been too much exalted and glorified, to the infinite detriment of man's estate. Of the nature of words, and their facility and aptness to cover and grace the defects of anticipations. That it is no marvel if these anticipations have brought forth such diversity and repugnance in opinions, theories or philosophies, as so many fable, of several arguments. That had not the nature of civil customs and government been in most times somewhat adverse to such innovations, though contemplative, there might have been and would have been many more. That the second school of the Academics and the sect of Pyrrho, or the considerers, that denied comprehension as the disabling

man's knowledge, entertained in anticipations, is well to be allowed: but that they ought, when they had overthrown and purged the floor of the ruins, to have sought to build better in place. And more especially that they did unjustly and prejudicially, to charge the deceit upon the report of the senses, which admitteth very sparing remedy; being indeed to have been charged upon the anticipations of the mind, which admitteth a perfect remedy. That the information of the senses is sufficient, not because they err not, but because the use of the sense in discovering of knowledge is for the most part not immediate. So that it is the work, effect, or instance, that trieth the axiom, and the sense doth but try the work done or not done, being or not being. That the mind of man in collecting knowledge needeth great variety of helps, as well as the hand of man in manual and mechanical practices needeth great variety of instruments. And that it were a poor work, that if instruments were removed, men would overcome with their naked hands. And of the distinct points of want and insufficiency in the mind of man.

CHAP. XVI.

That the mind of a man, as it is not a vessel of that content or receipt to comprehend knowledge without helps and supplies; so again it is not sincere, but of an ill and corrupt tincture. Of the inherent and profound errours and superstitions in the nature of the mind, and of the four sorts of idols or false

appearances that offer themselves to the understanding in the inquisition of knowledge; that is to say, the idols of the tribe, the idols of the palace, the idols of the cave, and the idols of the theatre: that these four, added to the incapacity of the mind, and the vanity and malignity of the affections, leave nothing but impotency and confusion. A recital of the particular kinds of these four idols, with some chosen examples of the opinions they have begot, such of them as have supplanted the state of knowledge most.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the errours of such as have descended and applied themselves to experience, and attempted to induce knowledge upon particulars. That they have not had the resolution and strength of mind to free themselves wholly from anticipations, but have made a confusion and intermixture of anticipations and observations, and so vanished. That if any have had the strength of mind generally to purge away and discharge all anticipations; they have not had that greater and double strength and patience of mind, as well to repel new anticipations after the view and search of particulars, as to reject old which were in their mind before; but have from particulars and history flown up to principles without the mean degrees, and so framed all the middle generalities or axioms, not by way of scale or ascension from particulars, but by way of derivation from principles, whence hath issued the infinite chaos of shadows and moths, wherewith both books and

minds have been hitherto, and may be yet hereafter much more pestered. That in the course of those derivations to make them yet the more unprofitable, they have used, when any light of new instance opposite to any assertion appeared, rather to reconcile the instance than to amend the rule. That if any have had, or shall have the power and resolution to fortify and inclose his mind against all anticipations, yet if he have not been or shall not be cautioned by the full understanding of the nature of the mind and spirit of man, and therein of the states pores and passages both of knowledge and errour, he hath not been nor shall not be possibly able to guide or keep on his course aright. That those that have been conversant in experience and observation, have used, when they have intended to discover the cause of any effect, to fix their consideration narrowly and exactly upon that effect itself, with all the circumstances thereof, and to vary the trial thereof as many ways as can be devised; which course amounteth but to a tedious curiosity, and ever breaketh off in wondering and not in knowing. And that they have not used to enlarge their observation to match and sort that effect with instances of a diverse subject, which must of necessity be before any cause be found out. That they have passed over the observation of instances vulgar and ignoble, and stayed their attention chiefly upon instances of mark: whereas the other sort are for the most part more significant, and of better light and information. That every particular that worketh any effect, is a

thing compounded, more or less, of diverse single natures, more manifest and more obscure, and that it appeareth not to whether of the natures the effect is to be ascribed; and yet notwithstanding they have taken a course without breaking particulars, and reducing them by exclusions and inclusions to a definite point, to conclude upon inductions in gross; which empirical course is no less vain than the scholastical. That all such as have sought action and work out of their inquiry, have been hasty and pressing to discover some practices for present use, and not to discover axioms, joining with them the new assignations as their sureties. That the forerunning of the mind to frame recipes upon axioms at the entrance, is like Atalanta's golden ball that hindereth and interrupteth the course; and is to be inhibited till you have ascended to a certain stage and degree of generalities; which forbearance will be liberally recompensed in the end; and that chance discovereth new inventions by one and one, but science by knots and clusters. That they have not collected sufficient quantity of particulars, nor them in sufficient certainty and subtilty, nor of all several kinds, nor with those advantages and discretions in the entry and sorting which are requisite; and of the weak manner of collecting natural history, which hath been used. Lastly, that they had no knowledge of the formulary of interpretation, the work whereof is to abridge experience, and to make things as certainly found out by axiom in short time, as by infinite experiences in ages.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the cautels and devices put in practice in the delivery of knowledge for the covering and palliating of ignorance, and the gracing and overvaluing of that they utter, are without number; but none more bold and more hurtful than two: the one, that men have used of a few observations upon any subject to make a solemn and formal art; by filling it up with discourse, accommodating it with some circumstances and directions to practice, and digesting it into method, whereby men grow satisfied and secure, as if no more inquiry were to be made of that matter; the other, that men have used to discharge ignorance with credit, in defining all those effects which they cannot attain unto, to be out of the compass of art and human endeavour. That the very styles and forms of utterance are so many characters of imposture, some chusing a style of pugnacity and contention, some of satire and reprehension, some of plausible and tempting similitudes and examples, some of great words and high discourse, some of short and dark sentences, some of exactness of method, all of positive affirmation; without disclosing the true motives and proofs of their opinions, or free confessing their ignorance or doubts, except it be now and then for a grace, and in cunning to win the more credit in the rest, and not in good faith. That although men be free from these errours and incumbrances in the will and affection, yet it is not a thing so easy as is conceived to

convey the conceit of one man's mind into the mind of another, without loss or mistaking, especially in notions new and differing from those that are received. That never any knowledge was delivered in the same order it was invented, no not in the mathematics, though it should seem otherwise in regard that the propositions placed last do use the propositions or grants placed first for their proof and demonstration. That there are forms and methods of tradition wholly distinct and differing, according to their ends whereto they are directed. That there are two ends of tradition of knowledge, the one to teach and instruct for use and practice, the other to impart or intimate for re-examination and progression. That the former of these ends requireth a method not the same whereby it was invented and induced, but such as is most compendious and ready, whereby it may be used and applied. That the latter of the ends, which is where a knowledge is delivered to be continued and spun on by a succession of labours, requireth a method whereby it may be transposed to another in the same manner as it was collected, to the end it may be discerned both where the work is weak, and where it breaketh off. That this latter method is not only unfit for the former end, but also impossible for all knowledge gathered and insinuated by anticipations, because the mind working inwardly of itself, no man can give a just account how he came to that knowledge which he hath received, and that therefore this method is peculiar for knowledge gathered by interpretation.

That the discretion anciently observed, though by the precedent of many vain persons and deceivers disgraced, of publishing part and reserving part to a private succession, and of publishing in a manner whereby it shall not be to the capacity nor taste of all, but shall as it were single and adopt his reader, is not to be laid aside, both for the avoiding of abuse in the excluded, and the strengthening of affection in the admitted. That there are other virtues of tradition, as that there be no occasion given to errour, and that it carry a vigour to root and spread against the vanity of wits and injuries of time; all which, if they were ever due to any knowledge delivered, or if they were never due to any human knowledge heretofore delivered, yet are now due to the knowledge propounded.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the impediments which have been in the affections, the principle whereof hath been despair or diffidence, and the strong apprehension of the difficulty, obscurity, and infiniteness which belongeth to the invention of knowledge, and that men have not known their own strength; and that the supposed difficulties and vastness of the work is rather in shew and muster, than in state or substance, where the true way is taken. That this diffidence hath moved and caused some never to enter into search, and others, when they have been entered, either to give over, or to seek a more compendious course than can stand with the nature of true search.

That of those that have refused and prejudged inquiry, the more sober and grave sort of wits have depended upon authors and traditions, and the more vain and credulous resorted to revelation and intelligence with spirits and higher natures. That of those that have entered into search, some having fallen upon some conceits, which they after consider to be the same which they have found in former authors, have suddenly taken a persuasion that a man shall but with much labour, incur and light upon the same inventions which he might with ease receive from others, and that it is but a vanity and self-pleasing of the wit to go about again, as one that would rather have a flower of his own gathering, than much better gathered to his hand. That the same humour of sloth and diffidence suggesteth, that a man shall but revive some ancient opinion, which was long ago propounded, examined, and rejected. And that it is easy to err in conceit, that a man's observation or notion is the same with a former opinion, both because new conceits must of necessity be uttered in old words, and because upon true and erroneous grounds men may meet in consequence or conclusion, as several lines or circles that cut in some one point. That the greatest part of those that have descended into search have chosen for the most artificial and compendious course, to induce principles out of particulars, and to reduce all other propositions unto principles; and so, instead of the nearest way, have been led to no way or a mere labyrinth. That the two contemplative ways have

some resemblance with the old parable of the two moral ways, the one beginning with incertainty and difficulty, and ending in plainness and certainty; and the other beginning with shew of plainness and certainty, and ending in difficulty and incertainty. Of the great and manifest errour and untrue conceit or estimation of the infiniteness of particulars, whereas indeed all prolixity is in discourse and derivations; and of the infinite and most laborious expence of wit that hath been employed upon toys and matters of no fruit or value. That although the period of one age cannot advance men to the furthest point of interpretation of nature, except the work should be undertaken with greater helps than can be expected, yet it cannot fail in much less space of time to make return of many singular commodities towards the state and occasions of man's life. That there is less reason of distrust in the course of interpretation now propounded, than in any knowledge formerly delivered, because this course doth in sort equal men's wits, and leaveth no great advantage or pre-eminence to the perfect and excellent motions of the spirit. That to draw a straight line, or to make a circle perfect round by aim of hand only, there must be a great difference between an unsteady and unpractised hand and a steady and practised; but to do it by rule or compass, it is much alike.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the impediments which have been in the two extreme humours of admiration of antiquity and love

of novelty; and again, of over-servile reverence, or over-light scorn of the opinions of others.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the impediments which have been in the affection of pride, specially of one kind, which is the disdain of dwelling and being conversant much in experiences and particulars, especially such as are vulgar in occurrency, and base and ignoble in use. That besides certain higher mysteries of pride, generalities seem to have a dignity and solemnity, in that they do not put men in mind of their familiar actions, in that they have less affinity with arts mechanical and illiberal, in that they are not so subject to be controuled by persons of mean observation, in that they seem to teach men that they know not, and not to refer them to that they know. All which conditions directly feeding the humour of pride, particulars do want. That the majesty of generalities, and the divine nature of the mind in taking them, if they be truly collected, and be indeed the direct reflexions of things, cannot be too much magnified. And that it is true, that interpretation is the very natural and direct intention, action, and progression of the understanding, delivered from impediments. And that all anticipation is but a deflexion or declination by accident.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the impediments which have been in the state of heathen religion, and other superstitions and errours of religion. And that in the true religion

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there hath not, nor is any impediment, except it be by accident or intermixture of humour. That a religion which consisteth in rites and forms of adoration, and not in confessions and beliefs, is adverse to knowledge; because men having liberty to inquire and discourse of theology at pleasure, it cometh to pass that all inquisition of nature endeth and limiteth itself in such metaphysical or theological discourse; whereas if men's wits be shut out of that port, it turneth them again to discover, and so to seek reason of reason more deeply. And that such was the religion of the Heathen. That a religion that is jealous of the variety of learning, discourse, opinions, and sects, as misdoubting it may shake the foundations, or that cherisheth devotion upon simplicity and ignorance, as ascribing ordinary effects to the immediate working of God, is adverse to knowledge. That such is the religion of the Turk, and such hath been the abuse of Christian religion at some several times, and in some several factions. And of the singular advantage which the Christian religion hath towards the furtherance of true knowledge, in that it excludeth and interdicteth human reason, whether by interpretation or anticipation, from examining or discussing of the mysteries and principles of faith.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the impediments which have been in the nature of society, and the policies of state. That there is no composition of estate or society, nor order

or quality of persons, which have not some point of contrariety towards true knowledge. That monarchies incline wits to profit and pleasure, and commonwealths to glory and vanity. That universities incline wits to sophistry and affectation; cloisters to fables and unprofitable subtilty; study at large to variety; and that it is hard to say, whether mixture of contemplations with an active life, or retiring wholly to contemplations, do disable and hinder the mind more.

FILUM LABYRINTHI,

SIVE FORMULA INQUISITIONIS.

AD FILIOS.

PARS PRIMA.

1. Francis Bacon thought in this manner. The knowledge whereof the world is now possessed, especially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works. The physician pronounceth many diseases incurable, and faileth oft in the rest. The alchemists wax old and die in hopes. The magicians perform nothing that is permanent and profitable. The mechanics take small light from natural philosophy, and do but spin on their own little threads. Chance sometimes discovereth inventions; but that worketh not in years, but ages. So he saw well, that the inventions known are very unperfect, and that new are not like to be brought to light but in great length of time; and that those which are, came not to light by philosophy.

2. He thought also this state of knowledge was the worse, because men strive against themselves to save the credit of ignorance, and to satisfy themselves in this poverty. For the physician, besides the cautels of practice, hath this general cautel of art,

that he dischargeth the weakness of his art upon supposed impossibilities: neither can his art be condemned, when itself judgeth. That philosophy also, out of which the knowledge of physic which now is in use is hewed, receiveth certain positions and opinions, which, if they be well weighed, induce this persuasion, that no great works are to be expected from art, and the hand of man; as, in particular, that opinion, that "the heat of the sun and fire "differ in kind;" and that other, "that composition "is the work of man, and mixture is the work of "nature," and the like; all tending to the circumscription of man's power, and to artificial despair; killing in men not only the comfort of imagination, but the industry of trial; only upon vain-glory, to have their art thought perfect, and that all is impossible that is not already found. The alchemist dischargeth his art upon his own errours, either supposing a misunderstanding of the words of his authors which maketh him listen after auricular traditions; or else a failing in the true proportions and scruples of practice, which maketh him renew infinitely his trials; and finding also that he lighteth upon some mean experiments and conclusions by the way, feedeth upon them, and magnifieth them to the most, and supplieth the rest in hopes. The magician, when he findeth something, as he conceiveth, above nature, effected, thinketh, when a breach is once made in nature, that it is all one to perform great things and small; not seeing, that they are but subjects of a certain kind, wherein magic and super-

stition hath played in all times. The mechanical person, if he can refine an invention, or put two or three observations or practices together in one, or couple things better with their use, or make the work in less or greater volume, taketh himself for an inventor. So he saw well, that men either persuade themselves of new inventions as of impossibilities; or else think they are already extant, but in secret and in few hands; or that they account of those little industries and additions, as of inventions: all which turneth to the averting of their minds from any just and constant labour, to invent further in any quantity.

3. He thought also, when men did set before themselves the variety and perfection of works produced by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire the provisions of man, than to apprehend his wants; not considering, that the original inventions and conclusions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many, nor deeply fetched; and that the rest is but the subtile and ruled motion of the instrument and hand; and that the shop therein is not unlike the library, which in such number of books containeth, for the far greater part, nothing but iterations, varied sometimes in form, but not new in substance. So he saw plainly, that opinion of store was a cause of want; and that both works and doctrines appear many, and are few.

4. He thought also, that knowledge is uttered to men in a form, as if every thing were finished; for it is reduced into arts and methods; which in their divisions do seem to include all that may be. And

how weakly soever the parts are filled, yet they carry the shew and reason of a total; and thereby the writings of some received authors go for the very art: whereas antiquity used to deliver the knowledge which the mind of man hath gathered, in observations, aphorisms, or short and dispersed sentences, or small tractates of some parts that they had diligently meditated and laboured; which did invite men, both to ponder that which was invented, and to add and supply further. But now sciences are delivered to be believed and accepted, and not to be examined and further discovered; and the succession is between master and disciple, and not between inventor and continuer or advancer: and therefore sciences stand at a stay, and have done for many ages, and that which is positive is fixed, and that which is question is kept question, so as the columns of no further proceeding are pitched. And therefore he saw plainly men had cut themselves off from further invention; and that it is no marvel, that that is not obtained which hath not been attempted, but rather shut out and debarred.

5. He thought also, that knowledge is almost generally sought either for delight and satisfaction, or for gain or profession, or for credit and ornament, and that every of these are as Atalanta's balls, which hinder the race of invention. For men are so far in these courses from seeking to increase the mass of knowledge, as of that mass which is they will take no more than will serve their turn: and if any one

amongst so many seeketh knowledge for itself, yet he rather seeketh to know the variety of things, than to discern of the truth and causes of them; and if his inquisition be yet more severe, yet it tendeth rather to judgment than to invention; and rather to discover truth in controversy, than new matter; and if his heart be so large as he propoundeth to himself further discovery or invention, yet it is rather of new discourse and speculation of causes, than of effects and operations. And as for those that have so much in their mouths, action and use and practice, and the referring of sciences thereunto; they mean it of application of that which is known, and not of a discovery of that which is unknown. So he saw plainly, that this mark, namely, invention of further means to endow the condition and life of man with new powers or works, was almost never yet set up and resolved in man's intention and inquiry.

6. He thought also, that, amongst other knowledges, natural philosophy hath been the least followed and laboured. For since the Christian faith, the greatest number of wits have been employed, and the greatest helps and rewards have been conferred upon divinity. And before-time likewise, the greatest part of the studies of philosophers was consumed in moral philosophy, which was as the heathen divinity. And in both times a great part of the best wits betook themselves to law, pleadings, and causes of estate; specially in the time of the greatness of the Romans, who by reason of their large empire

needed the service of all their able men for civil business. And the time amongst the Grecians, in which natural philosophy seemed most to flourish, was but a short space; and that also rather abused in differing sects and conflicts of opinions than profitably spent. Since which time, natural philosophy was never any profession, nor never possessed any whole man, except perchance some monk in a cloister, or some gentleman in the country, and that very rarely; but became a science of passage, to season a little, young and unripe wits, and to serve for an introduction to other arts, especially physic and the practical mathematics. So as he saw plainly, that natural philosophy hath been intended by few persons, and in them hath occupied the least part of their time, and that in the weakest of their age and judgment.

7. He thought also, how great opposition and prejudice natural philosophy had received by superstition, and the immoderate and blind zeal of religion; for he found that some of the Grecians, which first gave the reason of thunder, had been condemned of impiety; and that the cosmographers, which first discovered and described the roundness of the earth, and the consequence thereof touching the Antipodes, were not much otherwise censured by the ancient fathers of the Christian Church; and that the case is now much worse, in regard of the boldness of the schoolmen and their dependences in the monasteries, who having made divinity into an art, have almost incorporated the contentious philosophy of Aristotle

into the body of Christian religion: and generally he perceived in men of devout simplicity this opinion, that the secrets of nature were the secrets of God; and part of that glory whereinto the mind of man, if it seek to press, shall be oppressed; and that the desire in men to attain to so great and hidden knowledge, hath a resemblance with that temptation which caused the original fall; and on the other side, in men of a devout policy, he noted an inclination to have the people depend upon God the more, when they are less acquainted with second causes; and to have no stirring in philosophy, lest it may lead to an innovation in divinity, or else should discover matter of further contradiction to divinity. But in this part, resorting to the authority of the Scriptures, and holy examples, and to reason, he rested not satisfied alone, but much confirmed. For first, he considered that the knowledge of nature, by the light whereof man discerned of every living creature, and imposed names according to their propriety, was not the occasion of the fall; but the moral knowledge of good and evil, affected to the end to depend no more upon God's commandments, but for man to direct himself. Neither could he find in any Scripture, that the inquiry and science of man in any thing, under the mysteries of the Deity, is determined and restrained, but contrariwise allowed and provoked. For concerning all other knowledge the Scripture pronounceth, "That it is the glory of God "ceal, but it is the glory of man" (or of "for the king is but the ex

"vent;" and again, "The spirit of man is as the "lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth every secret;" and again most effectually, "That God hath made "all things beautiful and decent, according to the re- "turn of their seasons; also that he hath set the "world in man's heart, and yet man cannot find out "the work which God worketh from the beginning "to the end;" shewing that the heart of man is a continent of that concave or capacity, wherein the content of the world, that is, all forms of the creatures, and whatsoever is not God, may be placed or received; and complaining, that through the variety of things, and vicissitudes of times, which are but impediments and not impuissances, man cannot accomplish his invention. In precedent also he set before his eyes, that in those few memorials before the flood, the Scripture honoureth the name of the inventors of music and works in metal; that Moses had this addition of praise, that he was seen in all the learning of the Egyptians; that Solomon, in his grant of wisdom from God, had contained, as a branch thereof, that knowledge whereby he wrote a natural history of all verdure, from the cedar to the moss, and of all that breatheth: that the book of Job, and many places of the prophets, have great aspersion of natural philosophy; that the Church in the bosom and lap thereof, in the greatest injuries of times, ever preserved, as holy relicks, the books of philosophy and all heathen learning; and that when Gregory, the bishop of Rome, became adverse and unjust to the memory of heathen antiquity, it was censured for

pusillanimity in him, and the honour thereof soon after restored, and his own memory almost persecuted by his successor Sabinian; and lastly, in our times, and the ages of our fathers, when Luther and the divines of the Protestant Church on the one side, and the Jesuits on the other, have enterprised to reform, the one the doctrine, the other the discipline and manners of the Church of Rome, he saw well how both of them have awaked to their great honour and succour, all human learning. And for reason, there cannot be a greater and more evident than this, that all knowledge, and specially that of natural philosophy, tendeth highly to the magnifying of the glory of God in his power, providence, and benefits, appearing and engraven in his works, which without this knowledge are beheld but as through a veil: for if the heavens in the body of them do declare the glory of God to the eye, much more do they in the rule and decrees of them declare it to the understanding. And another reason, not inferior to this, is, that the same natural philosophy principally amongst all other human knowledge, doth give an excellent defence against both extremes of religion, superstition, and infidelity; for both it freeth the mind from a number of weak fancies and imaginations, and it raiseth the mind to acknowledge that to God all things are possible: for to that purpose speaketh our Saviour in that first canon against heresies, delivered upon the case of the resurrection, "You err, not knowing the Scriptur e "power of God;" teaching that th

two fountains of heresy, not knowing the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, and not knowing the power of God revealed or at least made most sensible in his creatures. So as he saw well, that natural philosophy was of excellent use to the exaltation of the Divine Majesty; and, that which is admirable, that being a remedy of superstition, it is nevertheless an help to faith. He saw likewise, that the former opinions to the prejudice hereof had no true ground; but must spring either out of mere ignorance, or out of an excess of devotion, to have divinity all in all; whereas it should be only above all; both which states of mind may be best pardoned; or else out of worse causes, namely out of envy, which is proud weakness, and deserveth to be despised; or out of some mixture of imposture, to tell a lie for God's cause; or out of an impious diffidence, as if men should fear to discover some things in nature which might subvert faith. But still he saw well, howsoever these opinions are in right reason reproved, yet they leave not to be most effectual hindrances to natural philosophy and invention.

8. He thought also, that there wanted not great contrariety to the further discovery of sciences in regard of the orders and customs of universities, and also in regard of common opinion. For in universities and colleges men's studies are almost confined to certain authors, from which if any dissenteth or propoundeth matter of redargution, it is enough to make him thought a person turbulent; whereas if

it be well advised, there is a great difference to be made between matters contemplative and active. For in government change is suspected, though the better; but it is natural to arts to be in perpetual agitation and growth. Neither is the danger alike of new light, and of new motion or remove; and for vulgar and received opinions, nothing is more usual, or more usually complained of, than that it is imposed for arrogancy and presumption, for men to authorise themselves against antiquity and authors, towards whom envy is ceased, and reverence by time amortised; it not being considered what Aristotle himself did, upon whom the philosophy that now is chiefly dependeth, who came with a professed contradiction to all the world, and did put all his opinions upon his own authority and argument, and never so much as nameth an author, but to confute and reprove him; and yet his success well fulfilled the observation of Him that said, "If "a man come in his own name, him will you "receive." Men think likewise, that if they should give themselves to the liberty of invention and travail of inquiry, that they shall light again upon some conceits and contemplations which have been formerly offered to the world, and have been put down by better, which have prevailed and brought them to oblivion; not seeing, that howsoever the property and breeding of knowledges is in great and excellent wits, yet the estimation and price of them is in the multitude, or in the inclinations of princes and great persons meanly learned. So as those

knowledges are like to be received and honoured, which have their foundation in the subtilty or finest trial of common sense, or such as fill the imagination, and not such knowledge as is digged out of the hard mine of history and experience, and falleth out to be in some points as adverse to common sense, or popular reason, as religion, or more. Which kind of knowledge, except it be delivered with strange advantages of eloquence and power, may be likely to appear and disclose a little to the world, and straight to vanish and shut again. So that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or flood, that bringeth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is solid and grave. So he saw well, that both in the state of religion, and in the administration of learning, and in common opinion, there were many and continual stops and traverses to the course of invention.

9. He thought also, that the invention of works and further possibility was prejudiced in a more special manner than that of speculative truth; for besides the impediments common to both, it hath by itself been notably hurt and discredited by the vain promises and pretences of alchemy, magic, astrology, and such other arts, which, as they now pass, hold much more of imagination and belief than of sense and demonstration. But to use the poet's language, men ought to have remembered, that although Ixion of a cloud in the likeness of Juno begat Centaurs and Chimæras, yet Jupiter also of the true Juno begat Vulcan and Hebe. Neither is it just to deny credit

to the greatness of the acts of Alexander, because the like or more strange have been feigned of an Amadis or an Arthur, or other fabulous worthies. But though this in true reason should be, and that men ought not to make a confusion of unbelief; yet he saw well it could not otherwise be in event, but that experience of untruth had made access to truth more difficult, and that the ignominy of vanity had abated all greatness of mind.

10. He thought also, there was found in the mind of man an affection naturally bred and fortified, and furthered by discourse and doctrine, which did pervert the true proceeding towards active and operative knowledge. This was a false estimation, that it should be as a diminution to the mind of man to be much conversant in experiences and particulars, subject to sense, and bound in matter, and which are laborious to search, ignoble to meditate, harsh to deliver, illiberal to practise, infinite as is supposed in number, and no ways accommodate to the glory of arts. This opinion or state of mind received much credit and strength by the school of Plato, who thinking that particulars rather revived the notions, or excited the faculties of the mind, than merely informed; and having mingled his philosophy with superstition, which never favoureth the sense, extolleth too much the understanding of man in the inward light thereof. And again, Aristotle's school, which giveth the due to the sense in assertion, denieth it in practice much more than that of Plato. For we see the schoolmen, Aristotle's successours, which

were utterly ignorant of history, rested only upon agitation of wit; whereas Plato giveth good example of inquiry by induction and view of particulars; though in such a wandering manner as is of no force or fruit. So that he saw well, that the supposition of the sufficiency of man's mind hath lost the means thereof.

SEQUELA CHARTARUM;

SIVE INQUISITIO LEGITIMA

DE CALORE ET FRIGORE.

SECTIO ORDINIS.

Charta suggestionis, sive memoria fixa.

THE sun-beams hot to sense.

The moon-beams not hot, but rather conceived to have a quality of cold, for that the greatest colds are noted to be about the full, and the greatest heats about the change. *Query.*

The beams of the stars have no sensible heat by themselves; but are conceived to have an augmentative heat of the sun-beams by the instance following. The same climate arctic and antarctic are observed to differ in cold, viz. that the antarctic is the more cold, and it is manifest the antarctic hemisphere is thinner planted with stars.

The heats observed to be greater in July than in June; at which time the sun is nearest the greatest fixed stars, viz. Cor Leonis, Cauda Leonis, Spica, Virginis, Sirius, Canicula.

The conjunction of any two of the three [illegible]t planets noted to cause great heats.

Comets conceived by some to be as well causes as effects of heat, much more the stars.

The sun-beams have greater heat when they are more perpendicular than when they are more oblique: as appeareth in difference of regions, and the difference of the times of summer and winter in the same region; and chiefly in the difference of the hours of mid-day, mornings, evenings in the same day.

The heats more extreme in July and August than in May or June, commonly imputed to the stay and continuance of heat.

The heats more extreme under the tropics than under the line: commonly imputed to the stay and continuance of heat, because the sun there doth as it were double a cape.

The heats more about three or four of clock than at noon; commonly imputed to the stay and continuance of heat.

The sun noted to be hotter when it shineth forth between clouds, than when the sky is open and serene.

The middle region of the air hath manifest effects of cold, notwithstanding locally it be nearer the sun, commonly imputed to antiperistasis, assuming that the beams of the sun are hot either by approach or by reflexion, and that falleth in the middle term between both; or if, as some conceive, it be only by reflexion, then the cold of that region resteth chiefly upon distance. The instances shewing the cold of that region, are the snows which descend, the hails

which descend, and the snows and extreme colds which are upon high mountains.

But *Qu.* of such mountains as adjoin to sandy vales, and not to fruitful vales, which minister no vapours; or of mountains above the region of vapours, as is reported of Olympus, where any inscription upon the ashes of the altar remained untouched of wind or dew. And note, it is also reported, that men carry up sponges with vinegar to thicken their breath, the air growing too fine for respiration, which seemeth not to stand with coldness.

The clouds make a mitigation of the heat of the sun. So doth the interposition of any body, which we term shades; but yet the nights in summer are many times as hot to the feeling of men's bodies as the days are within doors, where the beams of the sun actually beat not.

There is no other nature of heat known from the celestial bodies or from the air, but that which cometh by the sun-beams. For in the countries near the pole, we see the extreme colds end in the summer months, as in the voyage of Nova Zembla, where they could not disengage their barks from the ice, no not in July, and met with great mountains of ice, some floating, some fixed, at that time of the year, being the heart of summer.

The caves under the earth noted to be warmer in winter than in summer, and so the waters that spring from within the earth.

Great quantity of sulphur, and sometimes natu-

rally burning after the manner of Ætna, in Iceland; the like written of Groenland, and divers other the cold countries.*

The trees in the cold countries are such as are fuller of rosin, pitch, tar, which are matters apt for fire, and the woods themselves more combustible than those in much hotter countries; as, for example, fir, pine-apple, juniper: *Qu.* whether their trees of the same kind that ours are, as oak and ash, bear not, in the more cold countries, a wood more brittle and ready to take fire than the same kinds with us?

The sun-beams heat manifestly by reflexion, as in countries pent in with hills, upon walls or buildings, upon pavements, upon gravel more than earth, upon arable more than grass, upon rivers if they be not very open, &c.

The uniting or collection of the sun-beams multiplieth heat, as in burning-glasses, which are made thinner in the middle than on the sides, as I take it, contrary to spectacles; and the operation of them is, as I remember, first to place them between the sun and the body to be fired, and then to draw them upward towards the sun, which it is true maketh the angle of the cone sharper. But then I take it if the glass had been first placed at the same distance to which it is after drawn, it would not have had that force, and yet that had been all one to the sharpness of the angle. *Qu.*

* No doubt but infinite power the heat of the sun in cold countries, though it be not to the analogy of men, and fruits, &c.

So in that the sun's beams are hotter perpendicularly than obliquely, it may be imputed to the union of the beams, which in case of perpendicularity reflect into the very same lines with the direct; and the further from perpendicularity the more obtuse the angle, and the greater distance between the direct beam and the reflected beam.

The sun-beams raise vapours out of the earth, and when they withdraw they fall back in dews.

The sun-beams do many times scatter the mists which are in the mornings.

The sun-beams cause the divers returns of the herbs, plants, and fruits of the earth; for we see in lemon-trees and the like, that there is coming on at once fruit ripe, fruit unripe, and blossoms; which may shew that the plant worketh to put forth continually, were it not for the variations of the accesses and recesses of the sun, which call forth, and put back.

The excessive heat of the sun doth wither and destroy vegetables, as well as the cold doth nip and blast them.

The heat or beams of the sun doth take away the smell of flowers, specially such as are of a milder odour.

The beams of the sun do disclose summer flowers, as the pimpernel, marigold, and almost all flowers else, for they close commonly morning and evening, or in over-cast weather, and open [illegible] of the sun: which is but imp[illegible] moisture, which doth make the

and not to any other propriety in the sun-beams; so they report not only a closing, but a bending or inclining in the "heliotropium" and "calendula." *Qu.*

The sun-beams do ripen all fruits, and addeth to them a sweetness or fatness; and yet some sultry hot days overcast, are noted to ripen more than bright days.

The sun-beams are thought to mend distilled waters, the glasses being well-stopped, and to make them more virtuous and fragrant.

The sun-beams do turn wine into vinegar; but *Qu.* whether they would not sweeten verjuice?

The sun-beams do pall any wine or beer that is set in them.

The sun-beams do take away the lustre of any silks or arras.

There is almost no mine but lieth some depth in the earth; gold is conceived to lie highest, and in the hottest countries; yet Thracia and Hungary are cold, and the hills of Scotland have yielded gold, but in small grains or quantity.

If you set a root of a tree too deep in the ground, that root will perish, and the stock will put forth a new root nearer the superficies of the earth.

Some trees and plants prosper best in the shade: as the bayes, strawberries, some wood-flowers.

Almost all flies love the sun-beams, so do snakes; toads and worms the contrary.

The sun-beams tanneth the skin of man; and in some places turneth it to black.

The sun-beams are hardly endured by many, but

cause head-ach, faintness, and with many they cause rheums; yet to aged men they are comfortable.

The sun causes pestilence, which with us rages about autumn: but it is reported in Barbary they break up about June, and rage most in the winter.

The heat of the sun, and of fire, and living creatures, agree in some things which pertain to vivification; as the back of a chimney will set forward an apricot-tree as well as the sun; the fire will raise a dead butterfly as well as the sun; and so will the heat of a living creature. The heat of the sun in sand will hatch an egg. *Qu.*

The heat of the sun in the hottest countries nothing so violent as that of fire, no not scarcely so hot to the sense as that of a living creature.

The sun, a fountain of light as well as heat. The other celestial bodies manifest in light, and yet "non "constat" whether all borrowed, as in the moon, but obscure in heat.

The southern and western wind with us is the warmest, whereof the one bloweth from the sun, the other from the sea; the northern and eastern the more cold. *Qu.* whether in the coast of Florida, or at Brasil, the east wind be not the warmest, and the west the coldest; and so beyond the antarctic tropic, the southern wind the coldest.

The air useth to be extreme hot before thunders.

The sea and air ambient, appeareth to be hotter than that at land; for in the northern voyages two or three degrees farther at the open sea, they find less ice than two or three degrees more south near

land: but *Qu.* for that may be by reason of the shores and shallows.

The snows dissolve fastest upon the sea-coasts, yet the winds are counted the bitterest from the sea, and such as trees will bend from. *Qu.*

The streams or clouds of brightness which appear in the firmament, being such through which the stars may be seen, and shoot not, but rest, are signs of heat.

The pillars of light, which are so upright, and do commonly shoot and vary, are signs of cold; but both these are signs of drought.

The air when it is moved is to the sense colder; as in winds, fannings, ventilabra.

The air in things fibrous, as fleeces, furs, &c. warm; and those stuffs to the feeling warm.

The water to man's body seemeth colder than the air; and so in summer, in swimming it seemeth at the first going in; and yet after one hath been in a while, at the coming forth again, the air seemeth colder than the water.

The snow more cold to the sense than water, and the ice than snow; and they have in Italy means to keep snow and ice for the cooling of their drinks: *Qu.* whether it be so in froth in respect of the liquor?

Baths of hot water feel hottest at the first going in.

The frost dew which we see in hoar frost, and in the rymes upon trees or the like, accounted more mortifying cold than snow: for snow cherish

ground, and any thing sowed in it; the other biteth and killeth.

Stone and metal exceeding cold to the feeling more than wood: yea more than jet or amber, or horn, which are no less smooth.

The snow is ever in the winter season, but the hail, which is more of the nature of ice, is ever in the summer season; whereupon it is conceived, that as the hollows of the earth are warmest in the winter, so that region of the air is coldest in the summer; as if they were a fugue of the nature of either from the contrary, and a collecting itself to an union, and so to a further strength.

So in the shades under trees, in the summer, which stand in an open field, the shade noted to be colder than in a wood.

Cold effecteth congelation in liquors, so as they do consist and hold together, which before did run.

Cold breaketh glasses, if they be close stopped, in frost, when the liquor freezeth within.

Cold in extreme maketh metals, that are dry and brittle, cleft and crack, "Æraque dissiliunt;" so of pots of earth and glass.

Cold maketh bones of living creatures more fragile.

Cold maketh living creatures to swell in the joints, and the blood to clot, and turn more blue.

Bitter frosts do make all drinks to taste more dead and flat.

Cold maketh the arteries and flesh more asper and rough.

Cold causes rheums and distillations by compressing the brain, and laxes by like reason.

Cold increases appetite in the stomach, and willingness to stir.

Cold maketh the fire to scald and sparkle.

Paracelsus reporteth, that if a glass of wine be set upon a terras in a bitter frost, it will leave some liquor unfrozen in the centre of the glass, which excelleth "spiritus vini" drawn by fire.

Cold in Muscovy, and the like countries, causes those parts which are voidest of blood, as the nose, the ears, the toes, the fingers, to mortify and rot; especially if you come suddenly to fire, after you have been in the air abroad, they are sure to moulder and dissolve. They use for remedy, as is said, washing in snow water.

If a man come out of a bitter cold suddenly to the fire, he is ready to swoon, or be overcome.

So contrariwise at Nova Zembla, when they opened their door at times to go forth, he that opened the door was in danger to be overcome.

The quantity of fish in the cold countries, Norway, &c. very abundant.

The quantity of fowl and eggs laid in the cliffs in great abundance.

In Nova Zembla they found no beasts but bears and foxes, whereof the bears gave over to be seen about September, and the foxes began.

Meat will keep from putrifying longer in frosty weather, than at other times.

In Iceland they keep fish, by exposing it to the cold, from putrifying without salt.

The nature of man endureth the colds in the countries of Scricfinnia, Biarmia, Lappia, Iceland, Greenland: and that not by perpetual keeping in stoves in the winter time, as they do in Russia: but contrariwise, their chief fairs and intercourse is winter to be in the winter, because the ice evens and levelleth the passages of waters, plashes, &c.

A thaw after a frost doth greatly rot and mellow the ground.

Extreme cold burneth the eyes, and causeth blindness in many beasts as is reported.

[illegible]

In extreme colds any thing never so little which arresteth the air maketh it to congeal; as we see in cobwebs in windows, which is one of the least and weakest threads that is, and yet drops gather about it like chains of pearl.

So in frosts, the inside of glass windows gathereth a dew; *Qu.* if not more without.

Qu. Whether the sweating of marble and stones be in frost, or towards rain.

Oil in time of frost gathereth to a substance, as of tallow; and it is said to sparkle some time, so as it giveth a light in the dark.

The countries which lie covered with snow, have a hastier maturation of all grain than in other countries, all being within three months or thereabouts.

Qu. It is said, that compositions of honey, as mead, do ripen, and are most pleasant in the great colds.

The frosts with us are casual, and not tied to any months, so as they are not merely caused by the recess of the sun, but mixed with some inferior causes. In the inland of the northern countries, as in Russia, the weather for the three or four months of November, December, January, February, is constant, viz. clear and perpetual frost, without snows or rains.

There is nothing in our region, which, by approach of a matter hot, will not take heat by transition or excitation.

There is nothing hot here with us but is in a kind of consumption, if it carry heat in itself; for all fired things are ready to consume; chafed things are ready

to fire; and the heat of men's bodies needeth aliment to restore.

The transition of heat is without any imparting of substance, and yet remaineth after the body heated is withdrawn; for it is not like smells, for they leave some airs or parts; not like light, for that abideth not when the first body is removed; not unlike to the motion of the loadstone, which is lent without adhesion of substance, for if the iron be filed where it was rubbed, yet it will draw or turn.

A LETTER AND DISCOURSE TO SIR HENRY SAVILL, TOUCHING HELPS FOR THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

SIR,

COMING back from your invitation at Eton, where I had refreshed myself with company which I loved, I fell into a consideration of that part of policy, whereof philosophy speaketh too much and laws too little; and that is of education of youth. Whereupon fixing my mind a while, I found straitways, and noted even in the discourses of philosophers which are so large in this argument, a strange silence concerning one principal part of that subject. For as touching the framing and seasoning of youth to moral virtue (as tolerance of labours, continency from pleasures, obedience, honour, and the like) they handle it; but touching the improvement and helping of the intellectual powers, as of conceit, memory, and judgment they say nothing. Whether it were that they thought it to be a matter wherein nature only prevailed; or that they intended it as referred to the several and proper arts which teach the use of

reason and speech. But for the former of these two reasons, howsoever it pleaseth them to distinguish of habits and powers, the experience is manifest enough that the motions, and faculties of the wit and memory, may be not only governed and guided but also confirmed and enlarged by custom and exercise duly applied. As if a man exercise shooting, he shall not only shoot nearer the mark but also draw a stronger bow. And as for the latter, of comprehending these precepts within the arts of logic and rhetorick, if it be rightly considered, their office is distinct altogether from this point. For it is no part of the doctrine of the use or handling of an instrument to teach how to whet or grind the instrument to give it a sharp edge, or how to quench it or otherwise whereby to give it a stronger temper. Wherefore finding this part of knowlĕdge not broken, I have but "tanquam aliud agens" entered into it, and salute you with it, dedicating it after the ancient manner, first as to a dear friend; and then as to an apt person; for as much as you have both place to practice it, and judgment and leisure to look deeper into it, than I have done. Herein you must call to mind Αριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. Though the argument be not of great heighth and dignity, nevertheless it is of great and universal use; and yet I do not see why, to consider it rightly, that should not be a learning of heighth, which teacheth to raise the highest and worthiest part of the mind. But howsoever that be, if the world take any light and use by this writing, I will the gratulation be to the good friendship and acquaintance

between us two. And so I commend you to God's divine protection.

A DISCOURSE TOUCHING HELPS FOR THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

I did ever hold it for an insolent and unlucky saying, "faber quisque fortunæ suæ," except it be uttered only as an hortative or spur to correct sloth. For otherwise if it be believed as it soundeth; and that a man entereth into an high imagination that he can compass and fathom all accidents; and ascribeth all successes to his drifts and reaches, and the contrary to his errours and sleepings. It is commonly seen that the evening fortune of that man is not so prosperous as of him that without slackening of his industry attributeth much to felicity and providence above him. But if the sentence were turned to this, "faber quisque ingenii sui," it were somewhat more true and much more profitable; because it would teach men to bend themselves to reform those imperfections in themselves, which now they seek but to cover, and to attain those virtues and good parts, which now they seek but to have only in shew and demonstration. Yet notwithstanding every man attempteth to be of the first trade of carpenters, and few bind themselves to the second: whereas nevertheless, the rising in fortune seldom amendeth the mind; but on the other side, the removing of the stondes and impediments of the mind, doth often clear the passage and current to a man's fortune. But certain it is, whether it be believed or no, that as the

most excellent of metals, gold, is of all other the most pliant, and most enduring to be wrought; so of all living and breathing substances, the perfectest man is the most susceptible of help, improvement, impression, and alteration, and not only in his body, but in his mind and spirit, and there again not only in his appetite and affection, but in his powers of wit and reason.

For as to the body of man, we find many and strange experiences, how nature is overwrought by custom, even in actions, that seem of most difficulty and least possible. As first in voluntary motion, which though it be termed voluntary, yet the highest degrees of it are not voluntary; for it is in my power and will to run; but to run faster than according to my lightness or disposition of body, is not in my power nor will. We see the industry and practice of tumblers and funambulos what effects of great wonder it bringeth the body of man unto. So for suffering of pain and dolour, which is thought so contrary to the nature of man, there is much example of penances in strict orders of superstition, what they do endure, such as may well verify the report of the Spartan boys, which were wont to be scourged upon the altar so bitterly, as sometimes they died of it and yet were never heard to complain. And to pass to those faculties which are reckoned more involuntary, as long fasting and abstinence, and the contrary extreme (voracity). The leaving and forbearing the use of drink for altogether, the enduring vehement cold and the like; there have not

wanted; neither do want divers examples of strange victories over the body in every of these. Nay, in respiration, the proof hath been of some, who by continual use of diving and working under the water, have brought themselves to be able to hold their breath an incredible time; and others that have been able without suffocation, to endure the stifling breath of an oven or furnace so heated as, though it did not scald nor burn, yet it was many degrees too hot for any man not made to it to breathe or take in. And some impostors and counterfeits likewise, have been able to wreath, and cast their bodies into strange forms and motions: yea, and others to bring themselves into trances and astonishments. All which examples do demonstrate how variously, and how to high points and degrees, the body of man may be (as it were) moulded and wrought. And if any man conceive that it is some secret propriety of nature that hath been in these persons which have attained to those points, and that it is not open for every man to do the like, though he had been put to it; for which cause such things come but very rarely to pass; it is true, no doubt, but some persons are apter than others; but so as the more aptness causeth perfection, but the less aptness doth not disable; so that for example, the more apt child, that is taken to be made a Funambulo, will prove more excellent in his feats; but the less apt will be Gregarius Funambulo also. And there is small question, but that these abilities would have been more common, and others of like sort not attempted would likewise

have been brought upon the stage, but for two reasons: the one because of men's diffidence in prejudging them as impossibilities; for it holdeth in those things which the poet saith, "possunt quia posse "videntur;" for no man shall know how much may be done, except he believe much may be done. The other reason is, because they be but practises, base and inglorious, and of no great use, and therefore sequestred from reward of value; and on the other side, painful; so as the recompence balanceth not with the travel and suffering. And as to the will of man it is that which is most maniable and obedient; as that which admitteth most medicines to cure and alter it. The most sovereign of all is religion, which is able to change and transform it in the deepest and most inward inclinations and motions: and next to that is opinion and apprehension; whether it be infused by tradition and institution, or wrought in by disputation and persuasion: and the third is example, which transformeth the will of man into the similitude of that which is most obversant and familiar towards it: and the fourth is, when one affection is healed and corrected by another; as when cowardice is remedied by shame and dishonour, or sluggishness and backwardness by indignation and emulation; and so of the like: and lastly, when all these means, or any of them, have new framed or formed human will, then doth custom and habit corroborate and confirm all the rest: therefore it is no marvel, though thi faculty of the mind (of will and election) whi inclineth affection and appetite, being but the inc

tions and rudiments of will, may be so well governed and managed, because it admitteth access to so divers remedies to be applied to it and to work upon it, the effects whereof are so many and so known as require no enumeration; but generally they do issue as medicines do, into two kinds of cures; whereof the one is a just or true cure, and the other is called palliation: for either the labour and intention is to reform the affections really and truly, restraining them if they be too violent, and raising them if they be too soft and weak, or else it is to cover them; or if occasion be, to pretend them and represent them: of the former sort whereof the examples are plentiful in the schools of philosophers, and in all other institutions of moral virtue; and of the other sort, the examples are more plentiful in the courts of princes, and in all politic traffic, where it is ordinary to find not only profound dissimulations and suffocating the affections that no note or mark appear of them outwardly, but also lively simulations and affectations, carrying the tokens of passions which are not, as "Risus Jussus," and "Lachrymæ Coactæ," and the like.

OF HELPS OF THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

The intellectual powers have fewer means to work upon them than the will or body of man; but the one that prevaileth, that is exercise, worketh more forcibly in them than in the rest.

The ancient habit of the philosophers; "Si quis "quærat, in utramque partem, de omni scibili."

The exercise of scholars making verses extempore; "Stans pede in uno."

The exercise of lawyers in memory narrative.

The exercise of sophists, and "Jo. ad oppositum," with manifest effect.

Artificial memory greatly holpen by exercise.

The exercise of buffoons, to draw all things to conceits ridiculous.

The means that help the understanding and faculties thereof are:—

(Not example, as in the will, by conversation; and here the conceit of imitation already digested, with the confutation, "Obiter, si videbitur," of Tully's opinion, advising a man to take some one to imitate. Similitude of faces analysed.)

Arts, Logick, Rhetorick: the Ancients, Aristotle, Plato, Thætetus, Gorgias, Litigiosus, vel Sophista, Protagoras, Aristotle, Schola sua. Topicks, Elenches, Rhetoricks, Organon, Cicero, Hermogenes. The Neotericks, Ramus, Agricola. Nil sacri Lullius, his Typocosmia, studying Cooper's Dictionary; Mattheus Collection of proper words for Metaphors; Agrippa de vanitate, &c.

Que. If not here of imitation.

Collections preparative. Aristotle's similitude of a shoemaker's shop full of shoes of all sorts; Demosthenes Exordia Concionum. Tully's precept, of Theses of all sorts, preparative.

The relying upon exercise, with the difference of using and tempering the instrument; and the simi-

litude of prescribing against the laws of nature and of estate.

FIVE POINTS.

1. That exercises are to be framed to the life; that is to say, to work ability in that kind, whereof a man in the course of action shall have most use.

2. The indirect and oblique exercises which do, "per partes" and "per consequentiam," inable these faculties, which perhaps direct exercise at first, would but distort: and these have chiefly place where the faculty is weak, not "per se" but "per accidens;" as if want of memory grow through lightness of wit and want of stayed attention, then the mathematics or the law helpeth; because they are things wherein if the mind once roam it cannot recover.

3. Of the advantages of exercise; as to dance with heavy shoes, to march with heavy armour and carriage; and the contrary advantage (in natures very dull and unapt), of working alacrity by framing an exercise with some delight or affection;

"Veluti pueris dant crustula blandi
"Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima."

4. Of the cautions of exercise; as to beware, lest by evil doing (as all beginners do weakly), a man grow not and be inveterate in an ill habit; and so take not the advantage of custom in perfection, but in confirming ill. Slubbering on the lute.

5. The marshalling, and sequel of sciences and practises: logick and rhetorick should be used to be read after poesy, history, and philosophy. First,

exercise to do things well and clean; after, promptly and readily.

The exercises in the universities and schools are of memory and invention; either to speak by heart that which is set down verbatim, or to speak extempore; whereas, there is little use in action of either of both: but most things which we utter are neither verbally premeditate, nor merely extemporal; therefore exercise would be framed to take a little breathing and to consider of heads; and then to fit and form the speech extempore: this would be done in two manners, both with writing and tables, and without: for in most actions it is permitted and passable to use the note; whereunto if a man be not accustomed it will put him out.

There is no use of a narrative memory in academies, viz. with circumstances of times, persons, and places, and with names; and it is one art to discourse, and another to relate and describe; and herein use and action is most conversant.

Also to sum up and contract is a thing in action of very general use.

APOPHTHEGMES

NEW AND OLD.

A.D.

1625.

APOTHEGMES NEW AND OLD.

JULIUS CÆSAR did write a collection of apophthegmes, as appears in an epistle of Cicero; I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is pity his book is lost: for I imagine they were collected with judgement and choice; whereas that of Plutarch and Stobœus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use. They are "mucrones verborum," pointed speeches. Cicero prettily calleth them "salinas," salt pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves. They serve if you take out the kernel of them, and make them your own. I have, for my recreation, in my sickness, fanned the old, not omitting any, because they are vulgar, for many vulgar ones are excellent good; nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat; and adding many new, that otherwise would have died.

1. When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my Lo. of Oxford and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so, that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: my Lo. of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered. The Queen marked it, and would needs know what the matter was? My Lo. of Oxford answered: "That they smiled to see that when jacks went up, "heads went down."

2. Henry the Fourth of France his queen was great with child; count Soissons, that had his expectation upon the crown, when it was twice or thrice thought that the queen was with child before, said to some of his friends, "That it was but with a "pillow." This had someways come to the king's ear; who kept it till when the queen waxed great: called the count of Soissons to him, and said, laying his hand upon the queen's belly; "Come, cousin, "it is no pillow?"—"Yes, sir," answered the count of Soissons, "It is a pillow for all France to "sleep upon."

3. There was a conference in parliament between the upper house and the lower, about a bill of accountants, which came down from the lords to the commons; which bill prayed, That the lands of accountants, whereof they were seized when they

entered upon their office, mought be liable to their arrears to the queen. But the commons desired, That the bill mought not look back to accountants that were already, but extend only to accountants hereafter. But the lo. treasurer said, "Why, I pray "you, if you had lost your purse by the way, would "you look forwards, or would you look back? The "queen hath lost her purse."

4. Queen Elizabeth, the morrow of her coronation, went to the chapel; and in the great chamber, Sir John Rainsford, set on by wiser men, (a knight that had the liberty of a buffoon,) besought the queen aloud; "That now this good time, when "prisoners were delivered, four prisoners, amongst "the rest, mought likewise have their liberty who "who were like enough to be kept still in hold." The queen asked; "Who they were?" And he said; "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had long "been imprisoned in the Latin tongue; and now he "desired they mought go abroad among the people "in English." The queen answered, with a grave countenance; "It were good (Rainsford) they "were spoken with themselves, to know of them "whether they would be set at liberty?"

5. The lo. keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by queen Elizabeth of one of these monopoly licences? And he answered, "Will you "have me speak truth, Madam? 'Licentia omnes "deteriores sumus:'" We are all the worse for a licence.

6. Pace, the bitter fool, was not suffered to come at the queen, because of his bitter humour. Yet at one time, some persuaded the queen that he should come to her; undertaking for him, that he should keep compass: so he was brought to her, and the queen said: "Come on, Pace; now we "shall hear of our faults." Saith Pace; "I do "not use to talk of that that all the town "talks on."

7. My lo. of Essex, at the succour of Rhoan, made twenty-four knights, which at that time was a great matter. Divers of those gentlemen were of weak and small means; which when queen Elizabeth heard, she said, "My lo. mought have done well "to have built his alms-house, before he made his "knights."

8. A great officer in France was in danger to have lost his place; but his wife, by her suit and means making, made his peace; whereupon a pleasant fellow said, "That he had been crushed, but that he "saved himself upon his horns."

9. Queen Ann Bullen, at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, called one of the king's privy chamber to her, and said to him, "Commend me to the king, and tell him, "he is constant in his course of advancing me; "from a private gentlewoman he made me a "marquisse, and from a marquisse a queen; and "now, he had left no higher degree of earthly "honour, he hath made me a martyr."

10. Bishop Latimer said, in a sermon at court, "That he heard great speech that the king was "poor; and many ways were propounded to make "him rich: for his part he had thought of one way, "which was that they should help the king to some "good office, for all his officers were rich."

11. Cæsar Borgia, after long division between him and the lords of Romagna, fell to accord with them. In this accord there was an article, that he should not call them at any time all together in person. The meaning was, that knowing his dangerous nature, if he meant them treason, some one mought be free to revenge the rest. Nevertheless, he did with such fine art and fair carriage win their confidence, that he brought them altogether to council at Cinigaglia; where he murdered them all. This act, when it was related unto pope Alexander, his father, by a cardinal, as a thing happy, but very perfidious; the pope said, "It was they "that had broke their covenant first, in coming all "together."

12. Pope Julius the third, when he was made pope, gave his hat unto a youth, a favourite of his, with great scandal. Whereupon, at one time, a cardinal that mought be free with him, said modestly to him, "What did your holiness see in that young "man, to make him cardinal?" Julius answered, "What did you see in me to make me pope?"

13. The same Julius, upon like occasion of speech, Why he should bear so great affection to the

same young man? would say, "that he had found by "astrology that it was the youth's destiny to be a "great prelate; which was impossible except him-"self were pope. And therefore that he did raise "him, as the driver on of his own fortune."

14. Sir Thomas More had only daughters at the first, and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last he had a boy, which after, at man's years, proved simple. Sir Thomas said to his wife, "Thou prayedst so long for a boy, that he will be a "boy as long as he lives."

15. Sir Thomas More, the day that he was beheaded, had a barber sent to him, because his hair was long; which was thought would make him more commiserated with the people. The barber came to him, and asked him, "Whether he would be pleased "to be trimmed?" "In good faith, honest fellow," said Sir Thomas, "the king and I have a suit for "my head, and till the title be cleared, I will do no "cost upon it."

16. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a great champion of the papists, was wont to say of the Protestants who ground upon the Scripture, "That they were like posts, that bring truth in "their letters, and lies in their mouths."

17. The Lacedæmonians were besieged by the Athenians in the Port of Pellae, which was won, and some slain, and some taken. There was one said to one of them that was taken, by way of scorn, "Were "not they brave men that lost their lives at the Port "of Pellae?" He answered, "Certainly a Persian

" arrow is much to be set by, if it can choose out a " brave man."

18. After the defeat of Cyrus the younger, Falinus was sent by the king to the Grecians, who had for their part rather victory than otherwise, to command them to yield their arms; which when it was denied, Falinus said to Clearchus; " Well then, the " king lets you know, that if you remove from the " place where you are now encamped, it is war: if " you stay, it is truce. What shall I say you will " do?" Clearchus answered, " It pleaseth us, as it " pleaseth the king." " How is that?" saith Falinus. Saith Clearchus, " If we remove, war: if we stay, " truce:" and so would not disclose his purpose.

19. Clodius was acquitted by a corrupt jury, that had palpably taken shares of money: before they gave up their verdict, they prayed of the senate a guard, that they might do their consciences freely, for that Clodius was a very seditious young nobleman. Whereupon all the world gave him for condemned. But acquitted he was. Catulus, the next day seeing some of them that had acquitted him together, said to them; " What made you to ask of us a guard? " Were you afraid your money should have been " taken from you?"

20. At the same judgment, Cicero gave in evidence upon oath: and the jury, which consisted of fifty-seven, passed against his evidence, one day in the senate Cicero and Clodius being in altercation, Clodius upbraided him and said, " The jury " gave you no credit." Cicero answered, " Five and

"twenty gave me credit: but there were two and "thirty that gave you no credit, for they had their "money beforehand."

21. Many men, especially such as affect gravity, have a manner after other men's speech to shake their heads. Sir Lionel Cranfield would say, "It "was as men shake a bottle, to see if there were "any wit in their head or no?"

22. Sir Thomas More, who was a man in all his life-time that had an excellent vein in jesting, at the very instant of his death, having a pretty long beard, after his head was upon the block, lift it up again, and gently drew his beard aside, and said, "This "hath not offended the king."

23. Sir Thomas More had sent him by a suitor in chancery two silver flagons. When they were presented by the gentleman's servant, he said to one of his men, "Have him to the cellar, and let him "have of my best wine:" and, turning to the servant, said, "Tell thy master, friend, if he like it, let "him not spare it."

24. Diogenes, having seen that the kingdom of Macedon, which before was contemptible and low, began to come aloft when he died, was asked how he would be buried? He answered, "With my face "downwards; for within a while the world will be "turned upside down, and then I shall lie right."

25. Cato the elder was wont to say; that the Romans were like sheep; a man were better drive a flock of them, than one of them.

26. Themistocles in his lower fortune was in love with a young gentleman who scorned him; when he grew to his greatness, which was soon after, he sought to him: Themistocles said, "We are both "grown wise, but too late."

27. Demonax the philosopher, when he died, was asked touching his burial. He answered, "Never take care for burying me, for stink will "bury me." He that asked him, said again: "Why, "would you have your body left to dogs and "ravens to feed upon? Demonax answered, "Why, "what great hurt is it, if having sought to do good, "when I lived, to men; my body do some good to "beasts, when I am dead."

28. Jack Roberts was desired by his taylor, when the reckoning grew somewhat high, to have a bill of his hand. Roberts said, "I am content, but you "must let no man know it." When the taylor brought him the bill, he tore it as in choler, and said to him, "You use me not well; you promised me "no body should know it, and here you have "put in, 'Be it known unto all men by these "presents.'"

29. When Lycurgus was to reform and alter the state of Sparta; in the consultation one advised, that it should be reduced to an absolute popular equality: but Lycurgus said to him; "Sir, begin it in your "own house."

30. Phocion the Athenian, a man of great severity, and no ways flexible to the will of the people, one

day, when he spake to the people, in one part of his speech, was applauded: whereupon he turned to one of his friends, and asked, "What have I said "amiss?"

31. Sir Walter Raleigh was wont to say of the ladies of queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber and bed-chamber, "that they were like witches, they could do hurt, but they could do no good."

32. Bion, that was an atheist, was shewed in a port city, in a temple of Neptune, many tables of pictures, of such as had in tempests made their vows to Neptune, and were saved from shipwreck: and was asked, "How say you now? Do you not acknowledge the power of the gods?" But he said, "Yes, but where are they painted that have been "drowned after their vows?"

33. Bias was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest; and the mariners, that were wicked and dissolute fellows, called upon the gods; but Bias said to them, "Peace, let them not know you are "here."

34. Bion was wont to say; "That Socrates, of "all the lovers of Alcibiades, only held him by the "ears."

35. There was a minister deprived for inconformity, who said to some of his friends, "that if "they deprived him, it should cost an hundred men's "lives." The party understood it, as if, being a turbulent fellow, he would have moved sedition, and complained of him; whereupon being convented and apposed upon that speech, he said his meaning was,

" that if he lost his benefice, he would practise " physic, and then he thought he should kill an hun- " dred men in time."

36. Michael Angelo, the famous painter, painting in the pope's chapel the portraiture of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a cardinal that was his enemy, as every body at first sight knew it. Whereupon the cardinal complained to pope Clement, desiring it might be defaced. Who said to him, " Why, you know very " well, I have power to deliver a soul out of purga- " tory, but not out of hell."

37. There was a philosopher about Tiberius, that looking into the nature of Caius, said of him; " that he was mire mingled with blood."

38. Alcibiades came to Pericles, and stayed a while ere he was admitted. When he came in, Pericles civilly excused it, and said; " I was study- " ing how to give my account." But Alcibiades said to him, " If you will be ruled by me, study rather " how to give no account."

39. Cicero was at dinner, where there was an ancient lady that spake of her years, and said, " she was but forty years old." One that sat by Cicero rounded him in the ear, and said; " She talks " of forty years old; and she is far more, out of " question." Cicero answered him again; " I must " believe her, for I have heard her say so any time " these ten years."

40. Pope Adrian the sixth was talking with the duke of Sesa, " that Pasquil gave great scandal, and

" that he would have him thrown into the river;" but Sesa answered, " Do it not, holy father, for then " he will turn frog; and whereas now he chants but " by day, he will then chant both by day and " night."

41. There was a soldier that vaunted before Julius Cæsar of hurts he had received in his face. Julius Cæsar knowing him to be but a coward, told him; " You were best take heed next time you run " away, how you look back."

42. There was a bishop that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him; " My lord, why do you bathe " twice a day?" The bishop answered; " Because I " cannot conveniently bathe thrice."

43. Mendoza that was vice-roy of Peru, was wont to say, " That the government of Peru was the best " place that the king of Spain gave, save that it was " somewhat too near Madrid."

44. Secretary Bourn's son kept a gentleman's wife in Shropshire, who lived from her husband, with him: when he was weary of her, he caused her husband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him five hundred pounds for reparation; the gentleman went to Sir H. Sidney to take his advice upon this offer, telling him, " that his wife promised now a " new life; and, to tell him truth, five hundred " pounds would come well with him; and besides, " that sometimes he wanted a woman in his bed." " By my troth," said Sir Henry Sidney, " take her " home, and take the money: and then whereas other

" cuckolds wear their horns plain, you may wear " yours gilt."

45. There was a gentleman in Italy that wrote to a great friend of his upon his advancement to be cardinal, that he was very glad of his advancement, for the cardinal's own sake; but he was sorry that himself had lost so good a friend.

46. When Rabelais lay on his death-bed, and they gave him the extreme unction, a familiar friend of his came to him afterwards, and asked him how he did? Rabelais answered, " Even going my journey, " they have greased my boots already."

47. There was a king of Hungary took a bishop in battle, and kept him prisoner: whereupon the pope writ a monitory to him, for that he had broke the privilege of holy church, and taken his son. The king sent an embassage to him, and sent withal the armour wherein the bishop was taken, and this only in writing, " Vide num hæc sit vestis filii tui :"

48. There was a suitor to Vespasian, who, to lay his suit fairer, said it was for his brother; whereas indeed it was for a piece of money. Some about Vespasian, to cross him, told the emperor that the party his servant spoke for, was not his brother; but that it was upon a bargain. Vespasian sent for the party interested, and asked him; " Whether " his mean was his brother or no?" He durst not tell untruth to the emperor, and confessed that he was not his brother. Whereupon the emperor said, " This do, fetch me the money, and " you shall have your suit dispatched." Which he

did. The courtier, which was the mean, solicited Vespasian soon after about his suit: "Why," saith Vespasian, "I gave it last day to a brother of mine."

49. When Vespasian passed from Jewry to take upon him the empire, he went by Alexandria, where remained two famous philosophers, Appollonius and Euphrates. The emperor heard the discourse, touching matter of state, in the presence of many. And when he was weary of them, he brake off, and in a secret derision, finding their discourses but speculative, and not to be put in practice, said, "O that I "might govern wise men, and wise men govern me."

50. Cardinal Ximenes, upon a muster, which was taken against the Moors, was spoken to by a servant of his to stand a little out of the smoke of the harquebuss; but he said again, "That that was his "incense."

51. Vespasian asked of Apollonius, what was the cause of Nero's ruin? Who answered, "Nero could "tune the harp well, but in government he did "always wind up the strings too high, or let them "down too low."

52. Mr. Bromley, solicitor, giving in evidence for a deed, which was impeached to be fraudulent, was urged by the counsel on the other side with this presumption, that in two former suits, when title was made, that deed was passed over in silence, and some other conveyance stood upon. Mr. Justice Catline taking in with that side, asked the solicitor, "I pray "thee, Mr. Solicitor, let me ask you a familiar ques-

" tion; I have two geldings in my stable, and I have " divers times business of importance, and still I send " forth one of my geldings, and not the other; would " you not think I set him aside for a jade?" " No, " my lord," said Bromley, " I would think you " spared him for your own saddle."

53. Alonso Cartilio was informed by his steward of the greatness of his expence, being such as he could not hold out with. The bishop asked him wherein it chiefly arose? His steward told him, in the multitude of his servants. The bishop bad him make a note of those that were necessary, and those that mought be spared. Which he did. And the bishop taking occasion to read it before most of his servants, said to his steward, " Well, " let these remain because I need them; and these " other also because they have need of me."

54. Queen Elizabeth was wont to say, upon the commission of sales, " That the commissioners used " her like strawberry wives, that laid two or three " great strawberries at the mouth of their pot, and " all the rest were little ones; so they made her two " or three good prizes of the first particulars, but " fell straightways."

55. Queen Elizabeth was wont to say of her instructions to great officers, " That they were like " to garments, strait at the first putting on, but did " by and by wear loose enough."

56. Mr. Marbury the preacher would say, " that " God was fain to do with wicked men, as men " do with frisking jades in a pasture, that cannot

" take them up, till they get them at a gate. So " wicked men will not be taken up till the hour of " death."

57. Thales, as he looked upon the stars, fell into the water; whereupon it was after said, " that " if he had looked into the water he might have seen " the stars, but looking up to the stars he could not " see the water."

58. The book of deposing king Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, supposed to be written by doctor Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed queen Elizabeth; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her learned counsel, " Whether there were " any treason contained in it?" Mr. Bacon intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered, " No, madam, " for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is " any, but very much felony." The queen, apprehending it gladly, asked, " How? and wherein?" Mr. Bacon answered, " Because he had stolen many " of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius " Tacitus."

59. Mr. Popham, when he was speaker, and the lower house had sat long, and done in effect nothing; coming one day to queen Elizabeth, she said to him; " Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the " lower house?" He answered, " If it please your " majesty, seven weeks."

60. Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who was a poor man's son, and his father's house ill thatched, so that

the sun came in in many places, would sport with his ignobility, and say, " he was 'nato di casa illustre :' " son of an illustrious house."

61. When the king of Spain conquered Portugal, he gave special charge to his lieutenant, that the soldiers should not spoil, lest he should alienate the hearts of the people: the army also suffered much scarcity of victual. Whereupon the Spanish soldiers would afterwards say, " that they had won the king " a kingdom, as the kingdom of heaven used to be " won: by fasting and abstaining from that that " is another man's."

62. Cicero married his daughter to Dolabella that held Cæsar's party: Pompey had married Julia, that was Cæsar's daughter. After, when Cæsar and Pompey took arms one against the other, and Pompey had passed the seas, and Cæsar possessed Italy, Cicero stayed somewhat long in Italy, but at last sailed over to join with Pompey; who when he came unto him, Pompey said, " You are welcome, but " where left you your son-in-law ?" Cicero answered, " With your father-in-law."

63. Nero was wont to say of his master Seneca, " That his stile was like mortar of sand without lime."

64. Sir Henry Wotton used to say, " That cri- " tics are like brushers of noblemens clothes."

65. Queen Elizabeth being to resolve upon a great officer, and being by some, that canvassed for others, put in some doubt of that person whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. Bacon, and told him, " She was like one with a lanthorn seeking a

"man;" and seemed unsatisfied in the choice she had of men for that place. Mr. Bacon answered her, "That he had heard that in old time there was "usually painted on the church walls the day of "doom, and God sitting in judgement, and St. "Michael by him with a pair of balances; and the "soul and the good deeds in the one balance, and "the faults and the evil deeds in the other: and the "soul's balance went up far too light. Then was "our lady painted with a great pair of beads, who "cast them into the light balance, and brought down "the scale: so, he said, place and authority, which "were in her hands to give, were like our lady's "beads, which though men, through divers im- "perfections, were too light before, yet when they "were cast in, made weight competent."

66. Mr. Savil was asked by my lord of Essex his opinion touching poets? Who answered my lord; "that he thought them the best writers, next "to those that writ prose."

67. Mr. Mason of Trinity college, sent his pupil to another of the fellows, to borrow a book of him, who told him, "I am loth to lend my books out "of my chamber, but if it please thy tutor to come "and read upon it in my chamber, he shall as long as "he will." It was winter, and some days after the same fellow sent to Mr. Mason to borrow his bellows; but Mr. Mason said to his pupil, "I am loth to lend "my bellows out of my chamber, but if thy tutor "would come and blow the fire in my chamber, he "shall as long as he will."

68. Nero did cut a youth, as if he would have transformed him into a woman, and called him wife: there was a senator of Rome that said secretly to his friend, "It was pity Nero's father had not such "a wife."

69. Galba succeeded Nero, and his age being much despised, there was much licence and confusion in Rome; whereupon a senator said in full senate, "It were better live where nothing is lawful, "than where all things are lawful."

70. In Flanders by accident a Flemish tiler fell from the top of a house upon a Spaniard, and killed him, though he escaped himself; the next of the blood prosecuted his death with great violence, and when he was offered pecuniary recompence, nothing would serve him but "lex talionis;" whereupon the judge said to him, "that if he did urge that kind of "sentence, it must be, that he should go up to the top "of the house, and then fall down upon the tiler."

71. Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in suits, of her own nature; and the lord treasurer Burleigh, to feed her humour, would say to her, "Madam, you "do well to let suitors stay; for I shall tell you, 'bis "dat, qui cito dat:' if you grant them speedily, "they will come again the sooner."

72. They feigned a tale of Sixtus Quintus, that after his death he went to hell, and the porter of hell said to him, "You have some reason to offer yourself "to this place; but yet I have order not to receive "you: you have a place of your own, purgatory; "you may go thither." So he went away, and sought

purgatory a great while, and could find no such place. Whereupon he took heart, and went to heaven, and knocked; and St. Peter asked, "Who was "there?" He said, "Sixtus pope." Whereunto St. Peter said, "Why do you knock? you have the "keys." Sixtus answered, "It is true; but it is so "long since they were given, as I doubt the wards "of the lock be altered."

73. Charles, king of Sweden, a great enemy of the Jesuits, when he took any of their colleges, he would hang the old Jesuits, and put the young to his mines, saying, "that since they wrought so hard "above ground, he would try how they could work "under ground."

74. In chancery, one time when the counsel of the parties set forth the boundaries of the land in question, by the plot; and the counsel of one part said, "We lie on this side, my lord;" and the counsel of the other part said, "And we lie on this side:" the lord chancellor Hatton stood up and said, "If "you lie an both sides, whom will you have me to "believe."

75. Vespasian and Titus his eldest son were both absent from Rome when the empire was cast upon him; Domitian his younger son was at Rome, who took upon him the affairs; and being of a turbulent spirit, made many changes; and displaced divers officers and governors of provinces, sending them successors. So when Vespasian came to Rome, and Domitian came into his presence, Vespa-

sian said to him, "Son, I looked when you would "have sent me a successor."

76. Sir Amyas Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, "Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner."

77. The deputies of the reformed religion, after the massacre which was upon St Bartholomew's day, treated with the king and queen-mother, and some other of the council, for a peace. Both sides were agreed upon the articles. The question was, upon the security of performance. After some particulars propounded and rejected, the queen-mother said, "Why, is not the word of a king "sufficient security?" One of the deputies answered, "No, by St. Bartholomew, madam."

78. When the archduke did raise his siege from Grave, the then secretary came to queen Elizabeth. The queen, having first intelligence thereof, said to the secretary, "Wot you what? The arch-"duke has risen from the Grave." He answered, "What, without the trumpet of the archangel?" The queen replied, "Yes, without sound of trumpet."

79. Francis the first, used for his pleasure sometimes to go disguised: so walking one day in the company of the cardinal of Bourbon near Paris, he met with a peasant with a new pair of shoes upon his arm: so he called unto him and said: "By our lady, these be good shoes, what did they "cost thee?" The peasant said, "Guess." The king said, "I think some five sols." Saith the pea-

sant, "You have lyed; but a carlois." "What vil-
"lain," saith the cardinal of Bourbon, "thou art dead,
"it is the king." The peasant replied, "The devil
"take him of you and me, that knew so much."

80. There was a conspiracy, against the emperor Claudius by Scribonianus, examined in the senate; where Claudius sat in his chair, and one of his freed servants stood at the back of his chair. In the examination, that freed servant, who had much power with Claudius, very saucily, had almost all the words: and amongst other things, he asked in scorn one of the examinats, who was likewise freed servant of Scribonianus; "I pray, sir, if Scribonianus had been "emperor, what would you have done?" He answered; "I would have stood behind his chair and "held my peace."

81. Dionysius the tyrant, after he was deposed and brought to Corinth, kept a school. Many used to visit him; and amongst others, one when he came in, opened his mantle and shook his clothes; thinking to give Dionysius a gentle scorn; because it was the manner to do so for them that came in to him while he was tyrant. But Dionysius said to him; "I prithee do so, rather when thou goest out, that "we may see thou stealest nothing away."

82. Hannibal said of Fabius Maximus, and of Marcellus, whereof the former waited upon him, that he could make no progress, and the latter had many sharp fights with him; "that he feared Fabius like "a tutor, and Marcellus like an enemy."

83. Diogenes, one terrible frosty morning, came

into the market-place, and stood naked, quaking, to shew his tolerance. Many of the people came about him, pitying him: Plato passing by, and knowing he did it to be seen, said to the people as he went by "If you pity him indeed, leave him alone."

84. Sackford, master of the requests to queen Elizabeth, had diverse times moved for audience, and been put off. At last he came to the queen in a progress, and had on a new pair of boots. When he came in, the queen said to him, "Fy, sloven, "thy new boots stink." "Madam," said he, "it is not my new boots that stink; but it is the "stale bills that I have kept so long."

85. One was saying that his great grandfather, and grandfather, and father, died at sea; said another that heard him, "And I were as you, I would never "come at sea." "Why," saith he, "where did your "great grandfather, and grandfather, and father "die?" He answered; "Where but in their beds?" Saith the other, "And I were as you, I would never "come in bed."

86. Aristippus was earnest suitor to Dionysius for somewhat, who would give no ear to his suit. Aristippus fell at his feet, and then Dionysius granted it. One that stood by said afterwards to Aristippus, "You a philosopher, and to be so base as to throw "yourself at the tyrant's feet to get a suit." Aristippus answered, "The fault is not mine, but the "fault is in Dionysius, that carries his ears in his "feet."

87. There was a young man in Rome, th

very like Augustus Cæsar; Augustus took knowledge of it, and sent for the man, and asked him, "Was your mother never at Rome?" He answered, "No, sir, but my father was."

88. A physician advised his patient that had sore eyes, that he should abstain from wine; but the patient said, "I think, rather, sir, from wine and "water; for I have often marked it in blear eyes, "and I have seen water come forth, but never "wine."

89. When Sir Thomas More was lord chancellor, he did use, at mass, to sit in the chancel; and his lady in a pew. And because the pew stood out of sight, his gentleman-usher, ever after service, came to the lady's pew, and said; "Madam, my lord is "gone." So when the chancellor's place was taken from him, the next time they went to church, Sir Thomas himself came to his lady's pew, and said; "Madam, my lord is gone."

90. At an act of the commencement, the answerer gave for his question, that an aristocracy was better than a monarchy. The replier, who was a dissolute fellow, did tax him, that being a private bred man, he would give a question of state. The answerer said, that the replier did much wrong the privilege of scholars, who would be much straitened if they should give questions of nothing but such things wherein they are practised: and added, "We "have heard yourself dispute of virtue, which, no "man will say you put much in practice."

91. There was a dispute, whether great heads or

little heads had the better wit? And one said, "It "must needs be the little; for that it is a maxim, "Omne majus continet in se minus."

92. Solon, when he wept for his son's death, and one said to him, "Weeping will not help;" answered, "Alas, therefore I weep, because weeping will "not help."

93. Solon being asked; whether he had given the Athenians the best laws? answered, "Yes, the "best of those that they would have received."

94. One said to Aristippus; It is a strange thing, why men should rather give to the poor, than to philosophers. He answered, "Because they think "themselves may sooner come to be poor, than to "be philosophers."

95. Alexander used to say of his two friends, Craterus, and Hephæstion; that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king.

96. It fell out so, that as Livia went abroad in Rome, there met her naked young men that were sporting in the streets, which Augustus was about severely to punish in them; but Livia spake for them, and said, "It was no more to chaste women "than so many statues."

97. Alonso of Arragon was wont to say in commendation of age, "That age appeared to be best "in four things: old wood best to burn; old wine "to drink; old friends to trust; and old authors to "read."

98. It was said of Augustus, and afterward the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did

infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good toward their ends, "that they should either have "never been born or never died."

99. Queen Isabella of Spain used to say, "Who-"soever hath a good presence, and a good fashion, "carries letters of recommendation.

100. Trajan would say of the vain jealousy of princes, that seek to make away those that aspire to their succession; "that there was never king that "did put to death his successor."

101. When it was represented to Alexander, to the advantage of Antipater, who was a stern and imperious man, that he only of all his lieutenants wore no purple, but kept the Macedonian habit of black; Alexander said, "Yea, but Antipater is all "purple within."

102. Constantine the Great, in a kind of envy, himself being a great builder, as Trajan likewise was, would call Trajan "Parietaria:" wall-flower; because his name was upon so many walls.

103. Philip of Macedon was wished to banish one for speaking ill of him. But Philip answered; "Better he speak where we are both known, than "where we are both unknown."

104. A Grecian captain advising the confederates that were united against the Lacedæmonians, touching their enterprise, gave opinion, that they should go directly upon Sparta, saying; "That the "state of Sparta was like rivers; strong when "they had run a great way, and weak towards "their head."

105. Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, "That he was a great necromancer, for that "he used to ask counsel of the dead:" meaning books.

106. Lucullus entertained Pompey in one of his magnificent houses: Pompey said, "this is a marvellous fair and stately house for the summer: but "methinks it should be very cold for winter." Lucullus answered, "Do you not think me as wise as "divers fowls are, to change my habitation in the "winter season?"

107. Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed, or couch, neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in and got upon the bed, and trampled it, saying, "I "trample upon the pride of Plato." Plato mildly answered, "But with greater pride."

108. One was examined upon certain scandalous words spoken against the king. He confessed them, and said; "It is true, I spake them, and "if the wine had not failed, I had said much "more."

109. Pompey being commissioner for sending grain to Rome in time of dearth, when he came to the sea, found it very tempestuous and dangerous, insomuch as those about him advised him by no means to embark; but Pompey said, "It is of "necessity that I go, not that I live."

110. Trajan would say, "That the king's exche-"quer was like the spleen; for when that did swell, "the whole body did pine."

111. Charles the Bald allowed one, whose name was Scottus, to sit at the table with him, for his pleasure: Scottus sat on the other side of the table. One time the king being merry with him, said to him; "What is there between Scott and sot?" Scottus answered; "The table only."

112. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, in a famine, sold all the rich vessels and ornaments of the church, to relieve the poor with bread; and said, "there was no reason that the dead temples of God "should be sumptuously furnished, and the living "temples suffer penury."

113. There was a marriage made between a widow of great wealth, and a gentleman of a great house, that had no estate or means. Jack Roberts said, "That marriage was like a black pudding; the one "brought blood, and the other brought suet and "oatmeal."

114. Demosthenes was upbraided by Æschines, that his speeches did smell of the lamp. But Demosthenes said, "Indeed there is a great deal of "difference between that which you and I do by "lamp-light."

115. Demades the orator, in his age was talkative, and would eat hard: Antipater would say of him, that he was like a sacrifice, that nothing was left of it but the tongue and the paunch.

116. When king Edward the second was amongst his torturers, who hurried him to and fro, that no man should know where he was, they set him down upon a bank: and one time, the more to disguise his

face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a ditch by: the king said; "Well, yet I will have "warm water for my beard:" and so shed abundance of tears.

117. The Turks made an expedition into Persia, and because of the strait jaws of the mountains of Armenia, the bashaws consulted which way they should get in. Says a natural fool that stood by, "Here is much ado how you shall "get in; but I hear nobody take care how you "should get out."

118. Sir Thomas More, when the counsel of the party pressed him for a longer day to perform the decree, said; "Take saint Barnaby's "day, which is the longest day in the year." Now saint Barnaby's day was within few days following.

119. One of the fathers saith, "That there is "but this difference between the death of old men "and young men; that old men go to death, and "death comes to young men."

120. Philo Judæus saith, that the sense is like the sun; for the sun seals up the globe of heaven, and opens the globe of earth: so the sense doth obscure heavenly things, and reveals earthly things.

121. Cassius, after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, whose weapons were chiefly arrows, fled to the city of Charras, where he durst not stay any time, doubting to be pursued and besieged; he had with him an astrologer, wh

to him, "Sir, I would not have you go hence, "while the moon is in the sign of Scorpio.' Cassius answered, "I am more afraid of that "of Sagittarius."

122. Alexander, after the battle of Granicum, had very great offers made him by Darius; consulting with his captains concerning them, Parmenio said, "Sure I would accept of these offers, if I were as "Alexander." Alexander answered, "So would I, "if I were as Parmenio."

123. Alexander was wont to say, he knew himself to be mortal, chiefly by two things; sleep and lust.

124. Augustus Cæsar was invited to supper by one of his old friends that had conversed with him in his less fortunes, and had but ordinary entertainment. Whereupon, at his going, he said; "I did not know you and I were so familiar."

125. Augustus Cæsar would say; "That he "wondered that Alexander feared he should "want work, having no more to conquer; as if "it were not as hard a matter to keep as to "conquer."

126. Antigonus, when it was told him that the enemy had such volumes of arrows that they did hide the sun, said; "That falls out well, for "it is hot weather, and we shall fight in the "shade."

127. Augustus Cæsar did write to Livia, who was over-sensible of some ill-words that had been spoken of them both: "Let it not trouble thee, my

" Livia, if any man speak ill of us; for we have " enough that no man can do ill unto us."

128. Chilon said, that kings, friends, and favourites, were like casting counters; that sometimes stood for one, sometimes for ten, sometimes for an hundred.

129. Theodosius, when he was pressed by a suitor, and denied him; the suitor said, " Why, Sir, you " promised it." He answered; " I said it, but I did " not promise it if it be unjust."

130. Agathocles, after he had taken Syracuse, the men whereof, during the seige, had in a bravery spoken of him all the villany that might be, sold the Syracusans for slaves, and said, " Now if you use " such words of me, I will tell your master of you."

131. Dionysius the elder, when he saw his son in many things very inordinate, said to him, " Did you " ever know me do such things?" His son answered, " No, but you had not a tyrant to your " father." The father replied, " No, nor you, if you " take these courses, will have a tyrant to your " son."

132. Calisthenes, the philosopher, that followed Alexander's court, and hated the king, being asked by one, how one should become the famousest man in the world, answered, " By taking him away that " is."

133. Sir Edward Coke was wont to say, when a great man came to dinner to him, and gave him no knowledge of his coming, " Sir, since you sent me " no word of your coming, you must dine with me;

" but if I had known of it in due time, I would have " dined with you."

134. The Romans, when they spake to the people, were wont to stile them, Ye Romans: when commanders in war spake to their army, they stiled them, My soldiers. There was a mutiny in Cæsar's army, and somewhat the soldiers would have had, yet they would not declare themselves in it, but only demanded a mission, or discharge; though with no intention it should be granted: but knowing that Cæsar had at that time great need of their service, thought by that means to wrench him to their other desires: whereupon with one cry they asked mission. Cæsar, after silence made, said; " I for my part, ye " Romans." This title did actually speak them to be dismissed: which voice they had no sooner heard, but they mutined again; and would not suffer him to go on with his speech, until he had called them by the name of his soldiers: and so with that one word he appeased the sedition.

135. Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that he did resign his dictatorship; " Sylla was ignorant of let- " ters, he could not dictate."

136. Seneca said of Cæsar, " that he did quickly " shew the sword, but never leave it off."

137. Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man, than of the rest which were present. Whereupon one said to him; " See your baseness, that when you find a " liberal mind, you will take most of him." " No,"

said Diogenes, "but I mean to beg of the rest "again."

138. Jason the Thessalian was wont to say, "that "some things must be done unjustly, that many "things may be done justly."

139. Sir Nicholas Bacon being keeper of the seal, when queen Elizabeth, in progress, came to his house at Redgrave, and said to him, "My lo. what "a little house have you gotten?" said, "Madam, "my house is well, but it is you that have made me "too great for my house."

140. Themistocles, when an ambassador from a mean Estate did speak great matters, said to him, "Friend, your words would require a city."

141. Agesilaus, when one told him there was one did excellently counterfeit a nightingale, and would have had him hear him, said, "Why I have heard "the nightingale herself."

142. A great nobleman, upon the complaint of a servant of his, laid a citizen by the heels, thinking to bend him to his servant's desire; but the fellow being stubborn, the servant came to his lord, and told him, "Your lordship, I know, hath gone as far as "well you may, but it works not; for yonder fellow "is more perverse than before." Said my lord, "Let's forget him a while, and then he will remem- "ber himself."

143. One came to a cardinal in Rome, and told him, that he had brought his lordship a dainty white palfrey, but he fell lame by the way. Saith the car-

dinal to him, "I'll tell thee what thou shalt do; go "to such a cardinal, and such a cardinal," naming him some half a dozen cardinals, "and tell them as "much; and so whereas by thy horse, if he had been "sound, thou couldest have pleased but one, with thy "lame horse thou mayest please half a dozen."

144. Iphicrates the Athenian, in a treaty that he had with the Lacedæmonians for peace, in which question was about security for observing the same, said, "The Athenians would not accept of any se- "curity, except the Lacedæmonians did yield up "unto them those things, whereby it might be mani- "fest, that they could not hurt them if they would."

145. Euripides would say of persons that were beautiful, and yet in some years, "In fair bodies "not only the spring is pleasant, but also the "autumn."

146. After a great fight, there came to the camp of Consalvo, the great captain, a gentleman, proudly horsed and armed. Diego de Mendoza asked the great captain, "Who is this?" Who answered, "It is Saint Ermin, who never appears but "after a storm."

147. There was a captain sent to an exploit by his general with forces that were not likely to atchieve the enterprize; the captain said to him, "Sir," appoint but half so many." "Why?" saith the general. The captain answered, "Because it is "better fewer die than more."

148. They would say of the duke of Guise, Henry, that had sold and oppignerated all his

patrimony, to suffice the great donatives that he had made; "That he was the greatest usurer of France, "because all his state was in obligations."

149. Crœsus said to Cambyses, "That peace was "better than war; because in peace the sons did "bury their fathers, but in the wars the fathers did "bury their sons."

150. There was a harbinger who had lodged a gentleman in a very ill room, who expostulated with him somewhat rudely; but the harbinger carelessly said; "You will take pleasure in it when you are "out of it."

151. There was a cursed page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his clothes: and when his master bade him, said, "Take them you, for they are the hangman's fees."

152. There was one that died greatly in debt: when it was reported in some company, where divers of his creditors were, that he was dead, one began to say, "In good faith, then he hath carried five "hundred ducats of mine with him into the other "world:" and another said, "And two hundred of "mine;" and some others spake of several sums of theirs. Whereupon one that was amongst them said, "well I perceive now, that though a man cannot "carry any of his own with him into the next world, "yet he may carry other men's."

153. Francis Carvajall, that was the great captain of the rebels of Peru, had often given the chase to Diego Centeno, a principal commander of the

emperor's party: he was afterwards taken by the emperor's lieutenant Gasca, and committed to the custody of Diego Centeno, who used him with all possible courtesy; insomuch as Carvajall asked him, "I pray, Sir, who are you that use me with thi "courtesy?" Centeno said, "Do not you know "Diego Centeno?" Carvajall answered, "In good "faith, Sir, I have been so used to see your back, as I "knew not your face."

154. Carvajall, when he was drawn to execution, being fourscore and five years old, and laid upon the hurdle, said, "What! young in cradle, old in "cradle!"

155. There is a Spanish adage, "Love, without "end hath no end:" meaning, that if it were begun not upon particular ends it would last.

156. Cato the elder, being aged, buried his wife, and married a young woman. His son came to him, and said; "Sir, what have I offended, that you have brought a step-mother into your house?" The old man answered, "Nay, quite contrary, son: thou "pleasest me so well, as I would be glad to have "more such."

157. Crassus the orator had a fish which the Romans called Muræna, that he made very tame and fond of him; the fish died, and Crassus wept for it. One day falling in contention with Domitius in the senate, Domitius said, "Foolish Crassus, you wept "for your Muræna." Crassus replied, "That is "more than you did for both your wives."

158. Philip, Alexander's father, gave sentence

against a prisoner what time he was drowsy, and seemed to give small attention. The prisoner, after sentence was pronounced, said, "I appeal." The king somewhat stirred, said; "To whom do you "appeal?" The prisoner answered, "From Philip "when he gave no ear, to Philip when he shall "give ear."

159. The same Philip maintained arguments with a musician in points of his art, somewhat peremptorily; but the musician said to him, "God "forbid, Sir, your fortune were so hard, that you "should know these things better than myself."

160. There was a philosopher that disputed with the emperor Adrian, and did it but weakly. One of his friends that stood by, afterwards said unto him, "Methinks you were not like yourself last day, in "argument with the emperor; I could have an-"swered better myself." "Why," said the philosopher, "would you have me contend with him that "commands thirty legions?"

161. Diogenes was asked in a kind of scorn, "What was the matter, that philosophers haunted "rich men, and not rich men philosophers?" He answered, "Because the one knew what they "wanted, the other did not."

162. Demetrius, king of Macedon, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and still answered, "he had no leisure." Whereupon the woman said aloud, "Why then give over to be king."

163. The same Demetrius would at times retire

himself from business, and give himself wholly to pleasures. One day of those his retirings, giving out that he was sick, his father Antigonus came on the sudden to visit him, and met a fair dainty youth coming out of his chamber. When Antigonus came in, Demetrius said, "Sir, the fever left me right "now." Antigonus replied, "I think it was he that "I met at the door."

164. There was a merchant in debt that died. His goods and household stuff were set forth for sale. A stranger would needs buy a pillow there, saying, "This pillow sure is good to sleep upon, since he "could sleep that owed so many debts."

165. A lover met his lady in a close chair, she thinking to have gone unknown, he came and spake to her. She asked him, "How did you know me? He said, "Because my wounds bleed afresh;" alluding to the common tradition, that the wounds of a body slain will bleed afresh upon the approach of the murderer.

166. A gentleman brought music to his lady's window. She hated him, and had warned him often away; and when he would not desist, she threw stones at him. Whereupon a gentleman said unto him, that was in his company, "what greater honour "can you have to your music, than that stones come "about you, as they did to Orpheus?"

167. Cato Major would say, "That wise men "learned more by fools, than fools by wise men."

168. When it was said to Anaxagoras, "The

" Athenians have condemned you to die:" he said again, " And nature them."

169. Demosthenes when he fled from the battle, and that it was reproached to him, said, " that he " that flies might fight again."

170. Antalcidas, when an Athenian said to him, " Ye Spartans are unlearned;" said again, " True, " for we have learned no evil vice of you."

171. Alexander, when his father wished him to run for the prize of the race at the Olympian games, for he was very swift, answered; " He would, if he " might run with kings."

172. When Alexander passed into Asia, he gave large donatives to his captains, and other principal men of virtue; insomuch as Parmenio asked him, " Sir, what do you keep for yourself?" He answered " Hope."

173. Antigonus used to often go disguised, and to listen at the tents of his soldiers; and at a time heard some that spoke very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the tent a little, and said to them, " If you would speak ill of me, you should go a lit- " tle farther off."

174. Vespasian set a tribute upon urine; Titus his son emboldened himself to speak to his father of it: and represented it as a thing indign and sordid. Vespasian said nothing for the time; but a while after, when it was forgotten, sent for a piece of silver out of the tribute money, and called to his son, bidding him to smell it; and asked him, whether he

found any offence? Who said, "No." "Why so?" saith Vespasian again: "yet this comes out of "urine."

175. There were two gentlemen, otherwise of equal degree, save that the one was of the ancienter house. The other in courtesy asked his hand to kiss: which he gave him; and he kissed it; but said withal, to right himself by way of friendship, "Well, I and you, against any two of them:" putting himself first.

176. Nerva the emperor succeeded Domitian, who had been tyrannical; and in his time many noble houses were overthrown by false accusations; the instruments whereof were chiefly Marcellus and Regulus. The emperor Nerva one night supped privately with six or seven: amongst whom there was one that was a dangerous man; and began to take the like courses as Marcellus and Regulus had done. The emperor fell into discourse of the injustice and tyranny of the former time, and by name of the two accusers; and said, "What should we "do with them, if we had them now?" One of them that was at supper, and was a free-spoken senator, said, "Marry, they should sup with us."

177. There was one that found a great mass of money digging under ground in his grandfather's house; and being somewhat doubtful of the case, signified it to the emperor that he had found such treasure. The emperor made a rescript thus; "Use "it." He writ back again, that the sum was greater

than his estate or condition could use. The emperor writ a new rescript, thus: "Abuse it."

178. A Spaniard was censuring to a French gentleman the want of devotion amongst the French; in that, whereas in Spain, when the sacrament goes to the sick, any that meets with it, turns back and waits upon it to the house whither it goes; but in France they only do reverence, and pass by. But the French gentleman answered him, "There is reason for it; "for here with us, Christ is secure amongst his "friends; but in Spain there be so many Jews and "Maranos, that it is not amiss for him to have a con-"voy."

179. Coranus the Spaniard, at a table at dinner, fell into an extolling of his own father, saying, "If he "could have wished of God, he could not have "chosen amongst men a better father." Sir Henry Savil said, "What, not Abraham?" Now Coranus was doubted to descend of a race of Jews.

180. Consalvo would say, "The honour of a "soldier ought to be of a strong web;" meaning, that it should not be so fine and curious, that every little disgrace should catch and stick in it.

181. One of the Seven was wont to say; "That laws were like cobwebs; where the "small flies were caught, and the great brake "through."

182. Bias gave in precept, "Love as if you should "hereafter hate; and hate as if you should hereafter "love."

183. Aristippus being reprehended of luxury by one that was not rich, for that he gave six crowns for a small fish, answered, "Why, what would you "have given?" The other said, "Some twelvepence." Aristippus said again, "And six crowns is no more "with me."

184. There was a French gentleman speaking with an English, of the law Salique; that women were excluded from inheriting the crown of France. The English said, "Yes; but that was meant of the "women themselves, not of such males as claimed by "women." The French gentleman said, "Where "do you find that gloss?" The English answered, "I'll tell you, Sir: look on the backside of the re-"cord of the law Salique, and there you shall find it "indorsed:" implying there was no such thing as the law Salique, but that it is a mere fiction.

185. There was a friar in earnest dispute about the law Salique, that would needs prove it by Scripture; citing that verse of the Gospel; "Lilia agri "non laborant neque nent:" the lilies of the field do neither labour nor spin; applying it thus: That the flower-de-luces of France cannot descend, neither to the distaff nor to the spade: that is, not to a woman, nor to a peasant.

186. Julius Cæsar, as he passed by, was, by acclamation of some that stood in the way, termed King, to try how the people would take it. The people shewed great murmur and distaste at it. Cæsar, finding where the wind stood, slighted it, and

said, " I am not king, but Cæsar;" as if they had mistaken his name. For Rex was a surname amongst the Romans as King is with us.

187. When Crœsus, for his glory, shewed Solon his great treasures of gold, Solon said to him, " If " another king come that hath better iron than you, " he will be master of all this gold."

188. There was a gentleman that came to the tilt all in orange-tawny, and ran very ill. The next day he came again all in green, and ran worse. There was one of the lookers on asked another; " What is " the reason that this gentleman changeth his co- " lours?" The other answered " Sure, because it may " be reported, that the gentleman in the green " ran worse than the gentleman in the orange- " tawny."

189. Aristippus said; " That those that studied " particular sciences, and neglected philosophy, were " like Penelope's wooers, that made love to the wait- " ing woman."

190. Plato reprehended severely a young man for entering into a dissolute house. The young man said to him, " Why do you reprehend so sharply for " so small a matter?" Plato replied, " But custom " is no small matter."

191. There was a law made by the Romans against the bribery and extortion of the governors of provinces. Cicero saith in a speech of his to the people, " That he thought the provinces would " the state of Rome to have that l

" For," saith he, " before the governors did bribe and " extort as much as was sufficient for themselves; " but now they bribe and extort as much as may be " enough not only for themselves, but for the judges, " and jurors, and magistrates."

192. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, having received from Philip, king of Macedon, after Philip had won the victory of Chæronea upon the Athenians, proud letters, writ back to him, " That if he " measured his own shadow, he would find it no " longer than it was before his victory,"

193. Pyrrhus, when his friends congratulated to him his victory over the Romans, under the conduct of Fabricius, but with great slaughter of his own side, said to them again, " Yes, but if we have such " another victory, we are undone."

194. Cineas was an excellent orator and statesman, and principal friend and counsellor to Pyrrhus; and falling in inward talk with him, and discerning the king's endless ambition; Pyrrhus opened himself unto him, that he intended first a war upon Italy, and hoped to atchieve it: Cineas asked him, " Sir, " what will you do then?" " Then," saith he, " we " will attempt Sicily." Cineas said, " Well, Sir, " what then?" Said Pyrrhus, " If the gods favour " us, we may conquer Africa and Carthage." " What " then, Sir?" saith Cineas. " Nay then," saith Pyrrhus " we may take our rest, and sacrifice and " feast every day, and make merry with our friends." " Alas, Sir," said Cineas, " may we not do so now " without all this ado?"

195. The ambassadors of Asia Minor came to Antonius, after he had imposed upon them a double tax, and said plainly to him; "That if he would "have two tributes in one year, he must give them "two seed-times and two harvests."

196. Plato was wont to say of his master Socrates, that he was like the apothecaries' gally-pots; that had on the out-side apes, and owls, and satyrs; but within, precious drugs.

197. Lamia the courtezan had all power with Demetrius king of Macedon, and by her instigations he did many unjust and cruel acts; whereupon Lysimachus said, "that it was the first time that "ever he knew a whore play in tragedy."

198. Themistocles would say of himself, "That "he was like a plane-tree, that in tempests men fled "to him, and in fair weather men were ever cropping "his leaves."

199. Themistocles said of speech, "That it was "like arras, that spread abroad shews fair images, "but contracted is but like packs."

200. Bresquet, jester to Francis the first of France, did keep a calendar of fools, wherewith he did use to make the king sport; telling him ever the reason why he put any one into his calendar. When Charles the fifth, emperor, upon confidence of the noble nature of Francis, passed through France, for the appeasing of the rebellion of Gaunt, Bresquet put him into his calendar. The king asked him cause. He answered, "Because you have suff "at the hands of Charles the greatest bitterness

" ever prince did from another, nevertheless he " would trust his person into your hands." " Why, " Bresquet," said the king, " what wilt thou say, if " thou seest him pass back in as great safety, as if he " marched through the midst of Spain?" Saith " Bresquet; " Why then I will put him out, and " put you in."

201. Lewis the eleventh of France, having much abated the greatness and power of the peers, nobility, and court of parliament, would say, " That he had " brought the crown out of ward."

202. Sir Fulk Grevil, in parliament, when the lower house, in a great business of the queen's, stood much upon precedents, said unto them, " Why do " you stand so much upon precedents? The times " hereafter will be good or bad. If good, precedents " will do no harm; if bad, power will make a way " where it finds none."

203. When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels: the lord Henry Howard, being then earl of Northampton, and a counsellor, was omitted. Whereupon the king said to him, " My lord, how happens it that you have not " a jewel as well as the rest?" My lord answered, according to the fable in Æsop; " Non sum Gallus, " itaque non reperi gemmam."

204. An orator of Athens said to Demosthenes; " The Athenians will kill you if they wax mad." Demosthenes replied, " And they will kill you if " they be in good sense."

205. Alexander sent to Phocion a great present of money. Phocion said to the messenger, "Why "doth the king send to me, and to none else?" The messenger answered, "Because he takes you to be "the only good man in Athens." Phocion replied, "If he thinks so, pray let him suffer me to be so "still."

206. Cosmus duke of Florence was wont to say of perfidious friends, "that we read, that we ought "to forgive our enemies; but we do not read that "we ought to forgive our friends."

207. Æneas Sylvius, that was pope Pius Secundus, was wont to say; that the former popes did wisely set the lawyers on work to debate, whether the donation of Constantine the great to Sylvester, of St. Peter's patrimony, were good and valid in law or no? the better to skip over the matter in fact, whether there were ever any such thing at all or no.

208. At a banquet where those that were called the seven wise men of Greece were invited by the ambassador of a barbarous king; the ambassador related that there was a neighbour mightier than his master, picked quarrels with him, by making impossible demands, otherwise threatening war; and now at that present had demanded of him, to drink up the sea. Whereunto one of the wise men said, "I "would have him undertake it." "Why," saith the ambassador, "how shall he come off?" "Thus," saith the wise man: "let that king first stop the "rivers which run into the sea, which are no part of

"the bargain, and then your master will per-
"form it."

209. At the same banquet, the ambassador desired the seven, and some other wise men that were at the banquet, to deliver every one of them some sentence or parable, that he might report to his king the wisdom of Græcia, which they did; only one was silent; which the ambassador perceiving, said to him, "Sir, let it not displease you; why do not you say somewhat that I may report?" He answered, "Report to your lord, that there are of "the Grecians that can hold their peace."

210. One of the Romans said to his friend, "What think you of one who was taken in the act "and manner of adultery?" The other answered, "Marry, I think he was slow at dispatch."

211. Lycurgus would say of divers of the heroes of the heathen, "That he wondered that men should "mourn upon their days for them as mortal men, "and yet sacrifice to them as gods."

212. A papist being opposed by a protestant, "that they had no Scripture for images," answered, "Yes; for you read that the people laid their sick "in the streets, that the shadow of saint Peter might "come upon them; and that a shadow was an image, "and the obscurest of all images."

213. There is an ecclesiastical writer of the Papists, to prove antiquity of confession in the form that it now is, doth note, in very ancient times, even in the primitive times, amongst other foul slanders spread

against the Christians, one was, "That they did "adore the genitories of their priests. Which, he "saith, grew from the posture of the confessant, and "the priest in confession: which is, that the con- "fessant kneels down, before the priest sitting in a "raised chair above him."

214. Epaminondas, when his great friend and colleague in war was suitor to him to pardon an offender, denied him; afterwards, when a concubine of his made the same suit, he granted it to her; which when Pelopidas seemed to take unkindly, he said; "Such suits are to be granted to whores, but "not to personages of worth."

215. The Lacedæmonians had in custom to speak very short, which being an empire, they might do at pleasure: but after their defeat at Leuctra, in an assembly of the Grecians, they made a long invective against Epaminondas; who stood up, and said no more than this; "I am glad we have taught you "to speak long."

216. Fabricius, in conference with Pyrrhus, was tempted to revolt to him; Pyrrhus telling him, that he should be partner of his fortunes, and second person to him. But Fabricius answered, in a scorn, to such a motion, "Sir, that would not be good for "yourself: for if the Epirotes once knew me, they "will rather desire to be governed by me than "by you."

217. Fabius Maximus being resolved to draw the war in length, still waited upon Hannibal's pro-

gress to curb him; and for that purpose he encamped upon the high ground; but Terentius his colleague fought with Hannibal, and was in great peril of overthrow; but then Fabius came down from the high grounds, and got the day. Whereupon Hannibal said, "that he did ever think that that "same cloud that hanged upon the hills, would at "one time or other give a tempest."

218. There was a cowardly Spanish soldier, that in a defeat the Moors gave, ran away with the foremost. Afterwards, when the army generally fled, the soldier was missing. Whereupon it was said by some, that he was slain. "No sure," said one, "he "is alive; for the Moors eat no hare's flesh."

219. Hanno the Carthaginian was sent commissioner by the state, after the second Carthaginian war to Rome, to supplicate for peace, and in the end obtained it: yet one of the sharper senators said, "You have often broken with us the peaces where "unto you have been sworn; I pray, by what gods "will you swear?" Hanno answered, "By the same "gods that have punished the former perjury so "severely.

220. Thales being asked when a man should marry, said; "Young men not yet, old men not "at all."

221. Thales said; "that life and death were all "one." One that was present asked him; "Why "do not you die then?" Thales said again; "Because "they are all one."

222. Cæsar after first he had possessed Rome,

Pompey being fled, offered to enter the sacred treasury to take the moneys that were there stored; and Metellus, tribune of the people, did forbid him: and when Metellus was violent in it, and would not desist, Cæsar turned to him, and said; "Presume no "farther, or I will lay you dead." And when Metellus was with those words somewhat astonished, Cæsar added, "Young man, it had been easier for "me to do this than to speak it."

223. An Ægyptian priest having conference with Solon, said to him; "You Græcians are ever children; "you have no knowledge of antiquity, "nor antiquity of knowledge."

224. The council did make remonstrance unto queen Elizabeth of the continual conspiracies against her life; and namely of a late one: and shewed her a rapier taken from a conspirator that had a false shape, being of brown paper, but gilt over as it could not be known from a shape of metal, which was devised to the end, that without drawing it, the rapier might give a stab; and upon this occasion advised her that she should go less abroad to take the air, weakly unaccompanied, as she used. But the queen answered; "That she had rather be dead, "than put in custody."

225. Chilon would say, "That gold was tried "with the touchstone, and men with gold."

226. Zelim was the first of the Ottomans that did shave his beard, whereas his predecessors wore it long. One of his bashaws asked him, Why he altered the custom of his predecessors? He answered,

"Because you bashaws may not lead me by the "beard, as you did them."

227. Diogenes was one day in the market-place with a candle in his hand; and being asked, "What "he sought?" he said, "He sought a man."

228. Bias being asked; How a man should order his life? answered; "As if a man should live long, "or die quickly."

229. Queen Elizabeth was entertained by my lord Burleigh at Theobalds: and at her going away, my lord obtained of the queen to make seven knights. They were gentlemen of the country, of my lord's friends and neighbours. They were placed in a rank, as the queen should pass by the hall, and to win antiquity of knighthood, in order, as my lord favoured; though indeed the more principal gentlemen were placed lowest. The queen was told of it, and said nothing; but when she went along, she passed them all by, as far as the skreen, as if she had forgot it: and when she came to the skreen, she seemed to take herself with the manner, and said, "I had almost forgot what I promised." With that she turned back, and knighted the lowest first, and so upward. Whereupon Mr. Stanhope, of the privy-chamber, a while after told her: "Your majesty was "too fine for my lord Burleigh." She answered; "I have but fulfilled the Scripture; 'the first shall "be last, and the last first.'"

230. Simonides being asked of Hiero "what he "thought of God?" asked a seven-night's time to consider of it; and at the seven-night's end he asked

a fortnight's time; at the fortnight's end, a month. At which Hiero marvelling, Simonides answered; "that the longer he thought upon the matter, the "more difficult he found it."

231. Anacharsis, would say, concerning the popular estates of Græcia, that "he wondered how "at Athens wise men did propose, and fools did "dispose."

232. Solon compared the people unto the sea, and orators to the winds: for that the sea would be calm and quiet, if the winds did not trouble it.

233. Socrates was pronounced by the oracle of Delphos to be the wisest man of Greece, which he would put from himself ironically, saying, "there "would be nothing in him to verify the oracle, "except this; that he was not wise, and knew it; "and others were not wise, and knew it not."

234. Cato the elder, what time many of the Romans had statues erected in their honour, was asked by one in a kind of wonder, "Why he had "none?" He answered, "He had much rather men "should ask and wonder why he had no statue, than "why he had a statue."

235. Sir Fulke Grevill had much private access to queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good; yet he would say merrily of himself, "That he was like Robin Goodfellow; for "when the maids spilt the milkpans, or kept any "racket, they would lay it upon Robin; so what tales "the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad "offices that they did, they would put it upon him."

236. Socrates, when there was shewed him the book of Heraclitus the obscure, and was asked his opinion of it, answered, "Those things that I under-"stood were excellent, I imagine so were those that "I understood not; but they require a diver of "Delos."

237. Bion asked an envious man that was very sad, "What harm had befallen unto him, or what "good had befallen unto another man?"

238. Stilpo the philosopher, when the people flocked about him, and that one said to him, "The "people come wondering about you as if it were to "see some strange beast!" "No," saith he, "it "is to see a man which Diogenes sought with his "lanthorn."

239. Antisthenes being asked of one what learning was most necessary for man's life? answered; "To unlearn that which is nought."

240. There was a politic sermon, that had no divinity in it, was preached before the king. The king, as he came forth, said to bishop Andrews; "Call you this a sermon?" The bishop answered, "And it please your majesty, by a charitable con-"struction, it may be a sermon."

241. Bishop Andrews was asked at the first coming over of the archbishop of Spalato, whether he were a protestant or no? He answered, "Truly I "know not: but he is a detestant of divers opinions of Rome."

242. Caius Marius was general of the Romans against the Cimbers, who came with such a sea of

multitude upon Italy. In the fight there was a band of the Cadurcians of a thousand, that did notable service; whereupon, after the fight Marius did denison them all for citizens of Rome, though there was no law to warrant it. One of his friends did represent it unto him, that he had transgressed the law, because that privilege was not to be granted but by the people. Whereto Marius answered, "That for the "noise of arms he could not hear the laws."

243. Æneas Sylvius would say, that the Christian faith and law, though it had not been confirmed by miracles, yet was worthy to be received for the honesty thereof.

244. Henry Noel would say, "That courtiers "were like fasting-days; they were next the holy-"days, but in themselves they were the most meagre "days of the week."

245. Mr. Bacon would say, that it was in business, as it is frequently in ways: that the next way is commonly the foulest; and that if a man will go the fairest way, he must go somewhat about.

246. Augustus Cæsar, out of great indignation against his two daughters, and Posthumus Agrippa, his grandchild; whereof the first two were infamous, and the last otherwise unworthy, would say, "That "they were not his seed, but some imposthumes that "had broken from him."

247. Cato said, "The best way to keep good "acts in memory, was to refresh them with new."

248. Pompey did consummate the war against Sertorius, when Metellus had brought

somewhat low. He did also consummate the war against the fugitives, whom Crassus had before defeated in a great battle. So when Lucullus had had great and glorious victories against Mithridates and Tigranes; yet Pompey, by means his friends made, was sent to put an end to that war. Whereupon Lucullus taking indignation, as a disgrace offered to himself, said "that Pompey was a carrion crow: when "others had strucken down bodies, then he came "to prey upon them."

249. Diogenes when mice came about him as he was eating, said, "I see, that even Diogenes nourish-"eth parasites."

250. Epictetus used to say, "That one of the "vulgar, in any ill that happens to him, blames "others; a novice in philosophy blames himself; "and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the "other."

251. Hiero visited by Pythagoras, asked him, of what condition he was? Pythagoras answered, "Sir, I know you have been at the Olympian games." "Yes," saith Hiero. "Thither," saith Pythagoras, "come some to win the prizes. Some come to sell "their merchandize, because it is a kind of mart of "all Greece. Some come to meet their friends, and "to make merry; because of the great confluence of "all sorts. Others come only to look on. I am one "of them that come to look on." Meaning it, of philosophy, and the contemplative life.

252. Mr. Bettenham used to say, that riches were like muck; when it lay in a heap it gave but a

stench and ill odour, but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.

253. The same Mr. Bettenham said that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not their sweet smell, till they be broken and crushed.

254. There was a painter became a physician; whereupon one said to him, "You have done well; "for before the faults of your work were seen; but "now they are unseen,"

255. One of the philosophers was asked, "what "a wise man differed from a fool!" He answered, "Send them both naked to those that know them "not, and you shall perceive."

256. Cæsar in his book that he made against Cato, which is lost, did write, to shew the force of opinion and reverence of a man that had once obtained a popular reputation: "That there were some "that found Cato drunk, and they were ashamed "instead of Cato."

257. Aristippus sailing in a tempest, shewed signs of fear. One of the seamen said to him, in an insulting manner, "We that are plebeians are not "troubled; you that are a philosopher are afraid." Aristippus answered, "that there is not the like "wager upon it, for me to perish and you."

258. There was an orator that defended a cause of Aristippus, and prevailed. Afterwards he asked Aristippus, "Now, in your distress, what did Socra-"tes do you good?" Aristippus answered, "Thus, "in making true that good which you said of me."

259. Aristippus said, "He took money of his

" friends, not so much to use it himself, as to teach " them how to bestow their money."

260. A strumpet said to Aristippus, " That she " was with child by him :" he answered, " You know " that no more, than if you went through a hedge of " thorns, you could say, This thorn pricked me."

261. The lady Paget, that was very private with queen Elizabeth, declared herself much against her match with Monsieur. After Monsieur's death, the queen took extreme grief, at least as she made shew, and kept within her bed-chamber and one ante-chamber for three weeks space, in token of mourning; at last she came forth into her privy-chamber, and admitted her ladies to have access unto her, and amongst the rest my lady Paget presented herself, and came to her with a smiling countenance. The queen bent her brows, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her, " Madam, you are not ig- " norant of my extreme grief, and do you come to " me with a countenance of joy?" My lady Paget answered, " Alas, and it please your majesty, it is im- " possible for me to be absent from you three weeks, " but that when I see you, I must look cheerfully." " No, no," said the queen, not forgetting her former averseness to the match, " you have some other conceit " in it, tell me plainly." My lady answered, " I must " obey you: it is this. I was thinking how happy your " majesty was, in that you married not Monsieur; for " seeing you take such thought for his death, being " but your friend; if he had been your husband, sure " it would have cost you your life."

262. Sir Edward Dyer, a grave and wise gentleman, did much believe in Kelly the alchemist, that he did indeed the work, and made gold: insomuch that he went into Germany, where Kelly then was, to inform himself fully thereof. After his return, he dined with my lord of Canterbury, where at that time was at the table Dr. Brown the physician. They fell in talk of Kelly. Sir Edward Dyer, turning to the archbishop said, "I do assure your "grace, that that I shall tell you is truth, I am an "eye-witness thereof; and if I had not seen it, I "should not have believed it. I saw Master Kelly put "of the base metal into the crucible; and after it "was set a little upon the fire, and a very small "quantity of the medicine put in, and stirred with a "stick of wood, it came forth in great proportion, "perfect gold; to the touch, to the hammer, to "the test." My lord archbishop said, "You had need "take heed what you say, Sir Edward Dyer, for "here is an infidel at the board." Sir Edward Dyer said again pleasantly, "I would have looked for an "infidel sooner in any place than at your grace's ta-"ble." "What say you, Dr. Brown?" saith the bishop. Dr. Brown answered, after his blunt and huddling manner. "The gentleman hath spoken "enough for me." "Why," saith the bishop, "what hath he said?" "Marry," saith Dr. Brown, "he said, he would not have believed it, except he "had seen it, and no more will I."

263. Democritus said, "That truth did lie in "profound pits, and when it was got, it needed much "refining.

264. Doctor Johnson said that in sickness there were three things that were material; the physician, the disease, and the patient: and if any two of these joined, then they have the victory; for, "Ne Her-" cules quidem contra duos." If the physician and the patient join, then down goes the disease; for the patient recovers: if the physician and the disease join, then down goes the patient, that is where the physician mistakes the case; if the patient and the disease join, then down goes the physician, for he is discredited.

265. Alexander visited Diogenes in his tub, and when he asked him, what he would desire of him? Diogenes answered, "That you would stand a little " aside, that the sun may come to me."

266. Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended, "The better, " the worse."

267. Diogenes called an ill musician, Cock. "Why?" saith he. Diogenes answered; "Because " when you crow, men use to rise."

268. Heraclitus the obscure said; "The dry " light was the best soul: meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor, as it were, blooded by the affections.

269. There was in Oxford a cowardly fellow that was a very good archer; he was abused grossly by another, and moaned himself to Walter Raleigh, then a scholar, and asked his advice what he should do to repair the wrong had been offered him; Raleigh answered, "Why, challenge him at a match of " shooting."

270. Whitehead, a grave divine, was much esteemed by queen Elizabeth, but not preferred, because he was against the government of bishops; he was of a blunt stoical nature: he came one day to the queen, and the queen happened to say to him, "I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou "livest unmarried." He answered again, "In troth, "Madam, I like you the worse for the same cause."

271. There was a nobleman that was lean of visage, but immediately after his marriage he grew pretty plump and fat. One said to him, "Your "lordship doth contrary to other married men; for "they at the first wax lean, and you wax fat." Sir Walter Raleigh stood by and said, "Why, there is "no beast, that if you take him from the common, "and put him into the several, but he will wax fat."

272. Diogenes seeing one, that was a bastard, casting stones among the people, bad him take heed he hit not his father.

273 Dr. Laud said, "that some hypocrites and "seeming mortified men, that held down their heads "like bulrushes, were like the little images that they "place in the very bowing of the vaults of churches, "that look as if they held up the church, but are "but puppets."

274. It was said among some of the grave prelates of the council of Trent, in which the school-divines bore the sway; that the school-men were like the astronomers, who to save the phænomena framed to their conceit eccentrics and epicycles, and a wonderful engine of orbs, though no such things

were: so they, to save the practice of the church, had devised a number of strange positions.

275. It was also said by many concerning the canons of that council, "That we are beholden to "Aristotle for many articles of our faith."

276. The Lo. Henry Howard being lord privy seal, was asked by the king openly at the table, where commonly he entertained the king, upon the sudden, "My lord, have you not a desire to see "Rome?" My lord privy seal answered, "Yes indeed, "Sir." The king said, "And why?" My lord answered, "Because, and it please your majesty, it was once "the seat of the greatest monarchy, and the seminary "of the bravest men of the world, amongst the "heathen: and then, again, because after it was the "see of so many holy bishops in the primitive "church, most of them martyrs." The king would not give it over, but said, "And for nothing else?" My lord answered, "Yes, and it please your majesty, "for two things especially: the one, to see him, who, "they say, hath so great a power to forgive other men "their sins, to confess his own sins upon his knees "before a chaplain or priest; and the other to hear "Antichrist say his creed."

277. There was a nobleman said of a great counsellor, "that he would have made the worst farrier "in the world; for he never shod horse but he "cloyed him: so he never commended any man to "the king for service, or upon occasion of suit, or "otherwise, but that he would come in, in the

" end with a but, and drive in a nail to his dis-
" advantage."

278. There was a lady of the west country, that gave great entertainment at her house to most of the gallant gentlemen thereabout, and amongst others Sir Walter Raleigh was one. This lady, though otherwise a stately dame, was a notable good housewife; and in the morning betimes she called to one of her maids that looked to the swine, and asked, " Is the piggy served?" Sir Walter Raleigh's chamber was fast by the lady's, so as he heard her: a little before dinner, the lady came down in great state into the great chamber, which was full of gentlemen: and as soon as Sir Walter Raleigh set eye upon her, " Madam," saith he, " Is the piggy serv'd?" The lady answered, " You know best whether you " have had your breakfast."

279. There was a gentleman fell very sick, and a friend of his said to him, " Surely, you are in dan-
" ger; I pray send for a physician." But the sick man answered, " It is no matter, for if I die, I will " die at leisure?"

280. There was an Epicurean vaunted, that divers of other sects of philosophers did after turn Epicureans; but there was never any Epicureans that turned to any other sect. Whereupon a philosopher that was of another sect, said, " The reason was " plain, for that cocks may be made capons, but " capons could never be made cocks."

CERTAIN APOPHTHEGMES OF THE LORD BACON'S. FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE BACONIANA.

1. PLUTARCH said well, "It is otherwise in a "commonwealth of men than of bees: the hive of "a city or kingdom is in best condition when there "is least of noise or buz in it."

2. The same Plutarch said of men of weak abilities set in great place, "That they were like "little statues set on great bases, made to appear "the less by their advancement."

3. He said again, "Good fame is like fire. "When you have kindled it, you may easily pre- "serve it; but if once you extinguish it, you will "not easily kindle it again; at least, not make it "burn as bright as it did."

4. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent* instruction: Vespasian asked him, "What was Nero's overthrow?" He answered, "Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in "government sometimes he used to wind the pins "too high, sometimes to let them down too low." And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority

* This apophthegme is also found in his Essay of Empire.

so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

5. Queen Elizabeth seeing Sir Edward —— in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, "What does a man think of when he "thinks of nothing?" Sir Edward, who had not had the effect of some of the queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired, paused a little; and then made answer, "Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise." The queen shrunk in her head; but was heard to say, "Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you." Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor.

6. When any great officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, the queen would inquire after the piety, integrity, learning of the man. And when she was satisfied in these qualifications, she would consider of his personage. And upon such an occasion she pleased once to say to me, "Bacon, "how can the magistrate maintain his authority "when the man is despised?"

7. In eighty-eight, when the queen went from Temple-bar along Fleet-street, the lawyers were ranked on one side, and the companies of the city on the other; said Master Bacon to a lawyer that stood next him, "Do but observe the courtiers; if "they bow first to the citizens, they are in debt; if "first to us, they are in law."

8. King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them, "Gentlemen, at London you are like ships

" in a sea, which shew like nothing; but in your " country villages you are like ships in a river, " which look like great things."

9. Soon after the death of a great officer, who was judged no advancer of the king's matters, the king said to his solicitor Bacon, who was his kinsman, " Now tell me truly, what say you of your " cousin that is gone?" Mr. Bacon answered, " Sir, " since your majesty doth charge me, I'll e'en deal " plainly with you, and give you such a character of " him, as if I were to write his story. I do think he " was no fit counsellor to make your affairs better: " but yet he was fit to have kept them from growing " worse." The king said, " On my so'l, man, in the " first thou speakest like a true man, and in the " latter like a kinsman."

10. King James, as he was a prince of great judgment, so he was a prince of a marvellous pleasant humour; and there now come into my mind two instances of it. As he was going through Lusen, by Greenwich, he asked what town it was? They said Lusen. He asked a good while after, " What town " is this we are now in?" They said, still 'twas Lusen. " On my so'l," said the king, " I will be " king of Lusen."

11. In some other of his progresses, he asked how far it was to a town whose name I have forgotten. They said, Six miles. Half an hour after, he asked again. One said, Six miles and an half. The king alighted out of his coach, and crept under the shoulder of his led horse. And when some asked

his majesty what he meant? "I must stalk," said he, "for yonder town is shy, and flies me."

12. Count Gondomar sent a compliment to my lord St. Albans, wishing him a good Easter. My lord thanked the messenger, and said, "He could "not at present requite the count better than in "returning him the like; that he wished his lord-"ship a good Passover."

13. My lord chancellor Elsmere, when he had read a petition which he disliked, would say, "What "you would have my hand to this now?" And the party answering, "Yes;" he would say further, "Well, so you shall: nay, you shall have both my "hands to it." And so would, with both his hands, tear it in pieces.

14. I knew a wise man,* that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little that we may make an end the sooner."

15. Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say of an angry man who suppressed his passion, "That he "thought worse than he spake;" and of an angry man that would chide, "That he spoke worse than "he thought."

16. He was wont also to say, "That power in an "ill man was like the power of a black witch; he "could do hurt, but no good with it." And he would add, "That the magicians could turn water "into blood, but could not turn the blood again to "water."

* See this also in his Essay of Dispatch.

17. When Mr. Attorney Cook, in the exchequer, gave high words to Sir Francis Bacon, and stood much upon his higher place; Sir Francis said to him, "Mr. Attorney, the less you speak of your own "greatness, the more I shall think of it: and the "more, the less."

18. Sir Francis Bacon coming into the earl of Arundel's garden, where there were a great number of ancient statues of naked men and women, made a stand, and, as astonished, cried out, "The resur-"rection."

19. Sir Francis Bacon, who was always for moderate counsels, when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England, as would in effect make it no Church; said thus to him, "Sir, "the subject we talk of is the eye of England; and "if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour "to take them off, but he were a strange oculist "who would pull out the eye."

20. The same Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say, "That those who left useful studies for useless "scholastic speculations, were like the Olympic "gamesters, who abstained from necessary labours, "that they might be fit for such as were not so."

21. He likewise often used this comparison; "*The empirical philosophers are like to pismires; "they only lay up and use their store. The rationalists "are like to spiders; they spin all out of their own

* See the substance of this in Nov. Org. Ed. Lugd. Bat. p. 105. and Inter Cogitata et Visa, p. 88.

" bowels. But give me a philosopher, who like the " bee, hath a middle faculty, gathering from abroad " but digesting that which is gathered by his own " virtue."

22. The lord St. Alban, who was not over hasty to raise theories, but proceeded slowly by experiments, was wont to say to some philosophers, who would not go his pace, " Gentlemen, nature is a " labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with, " will make you lose your way."

23. The same lord, when he spoke of the Dutchmen, used to say, " That we could not abandon " them for our safety, nor keep them for our profit." And sometimes he would express the same sense on this manner; " We hold the Belgic lion by the " ears."

24. The same lord when a gentleman seemed not much to approve of his liberality to his retinue, said to him, " Sir, I am all of a piece; if the head be " lifted up, the inferior parts of the body must too."

25. The lord Bacon was wont to commend the advice of the plain old man at Buxton, that sold besoms: a proud lazy young fellow came to him for a besom upon trust; to whom the old man said, " Friend, hast thou no money? borrow of thy back, " and borrow of thy belly, they'll ne'er ask thee " again, I shall be dunning thee every day."

26. Solon* said well to Crœsus, (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold) " sir, if any other come

* See this in his Essay of the True Greatness of Kingdoms.

" that has better iron than you, he will be master of " all this gold."

27. Jack Weeks said of a great man, just then dead, who pretended to some religion, but was none of the best livers, " Well, I hope he is in heaven. " Every man thinks as he wishes; but if he be in " heaven, 'twere pity it were known."

ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA.*

A SUPPLY (BY THE PUBLISHER) OF CERTAIN WEIGHTY AND ELEGANT SENTENCES, SOME MADE, OTHERS COLLECTED BY THE LORD BACON; AND BY HIM PUT UNDER THE ABOVE-SAID TITLE; AND AT PRESENT NOT TO BE FOUND.

A COLLECTION OF SENTENCES OUT OF THE MIMI OF PUBLIUS; ENGLISHED BY THE PUBLISHER.

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1. "ALEATOR, quanto in arte est melior, tanto "est nequior."
   A gamester, the greater master he is in his art, the worse man he is.
2. "Arcum, intensio frangit; animum, remissio."
   Much bending breaks the bow; much unbending, the mind.
3. "Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoria."
   He conquers twice, who upon victory overcomes himself.
4. "Cum vitia prosint, peccat, qui recte facit."
   If vices were upon the whole matter profitable, the virtuous man would be the sinner.
5. "Bene dormit, qui non sentit quod male "dormiat."
   He sleeps well, who feels not that he sleeps ill.
6. "Deliberare utilia, mora est tutissima."
   To deliberate about useful things, is the safest delay.

* Tenison's Baconiana, page 60.

7. " Dolor decrescit, ubi quo crescat non habet."
The flood of grief decreaseth, when it can swell no higher.
8. " Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor."
Pain makes even the innocent man a liar.
9. " Etiam celeritas in desiderio, mora est."
Even in desire, swiftness itself is delay.
10. " Etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam."
The smallest hair casts a shadow.
11. " Fidem qui perdit, quo se servat in reliquum?"
He that has lost his faith, what has he left to live on?
12. " Formosa facies muta commendatio est."
A beautiful face is a silent commendation.
13. " Fortuna nimium quem fovet, stultum facit."
Fortune makes him a fool, whom she makes her darling.
14. " Fortuna obesse nulli contenta est semel."
Fortune is not content to do a man but one ill turn.
15. " Facit gratum fortuna, quam nemo videt."
The fortune which nobody sees, makes a man happy and unenvied.
16. " Heu! quam miserum est ab illo lædi, de quo " non possis queri."
O! what a miserable thing it is to be hurt by such a one of whom it is in vain to complain.
17. " Homo toties moritur quoties amittit suos."
A man dies as often as he loses his friends.
18. " Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est."
The tears of an heir are laughter under a vizard.

19. " Jucundum nihil est, nisi quod reficit varietas."
Nothing is pleasant, to which variety does not give a relish.

20. " Invidiam ferre, aut fortis, aut felix potest."
He may bear envy, who is either courageous or happy.

21. " In malis sperare bonum, nisi innocens, nemo potest."
None but a virtuous man can hope well in ill circumstances.

22. " In vindicando, criminosa est celeritas."
In taking revenge, the very haste we make is criminal.

23. " In calamitoso risus etiam injuria est."
When men are in calamity, if we do but laugh we offend.

24. " Improbe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum nau-
" fragium facit."
He accuseth Neptune unjustly, who makes shipwreck a second time.

25. " Multis minatur, qui uni facit injuriam."
He that injures one, threatens an hundred.

26. " Mora omnis ingrata est, sed facit sapientiam."
All delay is ungrateful, but we are not wise without it.

27. " Mori est felicis antequam mortem invocet."
Happy he who dies ere he calls for death to take him away.

28. " Malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus."
An ill man is always ill; but he is then worst of all, when he pretends to be a saint.

29. " Magno cum periculo custoditur, quod multis " placet."

Lock and key will scarce keep that secure, which pleases every body.

30. " Male vivunt qui se semper victuros putant."

They think ill, who think of living always.

31. " Male secum agit æger, medicum qui hæredem " facit."

That sick man does ill for himself, who makes his physician his heir.

32. " Multos timere debet, quem multi timent."

He of whom many are afraid, ought himself to fear many.

33. " Nulla tam bona est fortuna, de qua nil possis " queri."

There is no fortune so good but it bates an ace.

34. " Pars beneficii est, quod petitur si bene neges."

It is part of the gift, if you deny genteely what is asked of you.

35. " Timidus vocat se cautum, parcum sordidus."

The coward calls himself a wary man; and the miser says, he is frugal.

36. " O vita! misero longa, felici brevis."

O life! an age to him that is in misery; and to him that is happy, a moment.

A COLLECTION OF SENTENCES OUT OF SOME OF THE WRITINGS OF THE LORD BACON.*

1. It is a strange desire which men have, to seek power, and lose liberty.

2. Children increase the cares of life; but they mitigate the remembrance of death.

3. Round dealing is the honour of man's nature; and a mixture of falsehood is like allay in gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it.

4. Death openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

5. Schism in the spiritual body of the Church is a greater scandal than a corruption in manners: as, in the natural body, a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour.

6. Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.

7. He that studieth revenge, keepeth his own wounds green.

8. Revengeful persons live and die like witches: their life is mischievous, and their end is unfortunate,

* Baconiana, page 65.

9. It was an high speech of Seneca, after the manner of the Stoics, that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things which belong to adversity are to be admired.

10. He that cannot see well, let him go softly.

11. If a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery; as the more close air sucketh in the more open.

12. Keep your authority wholly from your children, not so your purse.

13. Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise: for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

14. That envy is most malignant which is like Cain's, who envied his brother, because his sacrifice was better accepted, when there was nobody but God to look on.

15. The lovers of great place are impatient of privateness, even in age, which requires the shadow: like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though there they offer age to scorn.

16. In evil, the best condition is, not to will: the next, not to can.

17. In great place, ask counsel of both times: of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest.

18. As in nature things move more violently to their place, and calmly in their place: so virtue in ambition is violent; in authority, settled and calm.

19. Boldness in civil business is like pronunciation in the Orator of Demosthenes: the first, second, and third thing.

20. Boldness is blind: wherefore it is ill in counsel, but good in execution. For in counsel it is good to see dangers; in execution, not to see them, except they be very great.

21. Without good-nature, man is but a better kind of vermin.

22. God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it.

23. The great atheists indeed are hypocrites, who are always handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

24. The master of superstition is the people. And in all superstition, wise men follow fools.

25. In removing superstitions, care would be had, that, as it fareth in ill purgings, the good be not taken away with the bad: which commonly is done when the people is the physician.

26. He that goeth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel.

27. It is a miserable state of mind, and yet it is commonly the case of kings, to have few things to desire, and many things to fear.

28. Depression of the nobility may make a king more absolute, but less safe.

29. All precepts concerning kings are, in effect, comprehended in these remembrances: remember thou art a man; remember thou art God's vicegerent: the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

30. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune.

31. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilled in his master's business than his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.

32. Private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend.

33. Fortune is like a market, where many times if you stay a little the price will fall.

34. Fortune sometimes turneth the handle of the bottle, which is easy to be taken hold of; and after the belly, which is hard to grasp.

35. Generally it is good to commit the beginning of all great actions to Argus with an hundred eyes; and the ends of them to Briareus with an hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed.

86. There is great difference betwixt a cunning man and a wise man. There be that can pack the cards, who yet cannot play well; they are good in canvasses and factions, and yet otherwise mean men.

37. Extreme self-lovers will set a man's house on fire, though it were but to roast their eggs.

38. New things, like strangers, are more admired and less favoured.

39. It were good that men, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived.

40. They that reverence too much old time, are but a scorn to the new.

41. The Spaniards and Spartans have been noted to be of small dispatch. "Mi venga la muerte de "Spagna;" Let my death come from Spain, for then it will be sure to be long a coming.

42. You had better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

43. Those who want friends to whom to open their griefs, are cannibals of their own hearts.

44. Number itself importeth not much in armies, where the people are of weak courage; for, as Virgil says, it never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.

45. Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentry multiply too fast. In coppice woods, if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.

46. A civil war is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health.

47. Suspicions among thoughts, are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight.

48. Base natures, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true.

49. Men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others memory.

50. Discretion in speech is more than eloquence.

51. Men seem neither well to understand the riches nor their strength; of the former they belie

greater things than they should, and of the latter much less. And from hence certain fatal pillars have bounded the progress of learning.

52. Riches are the baggage of virtue; they cannot be spared, nor left behind, but they hinder the march.

53. Great riches have sold more men than ever they have bought out.

54. Riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, and sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more.

55. He that defers his charity till he is dead, is, if a man weighs it rightly, rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

56. Ambition is like choler; if it can move, it makes men active; if it be stopped, it becomes adust, and makes men melancholy.

57. To take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs.

58. Some ambitious men seem as skreens to princes in matters of danger and envy, For no man will take such parts, except he be like the seel'd dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him.

59. Princes and states should choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than rising; and should discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

60. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

61. If a man look sharply and attentively, he

shall see fortune; for though she be blind, she is not invisible.

62. Usury bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into few hands: for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties; at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box.

63. Beauty is best in a body that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. The beautiful prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study, for the most part, rather behaviour than virtue.

64. The best part of beauty is that which a picture cannot express.

65. He who builds a fair house upon an ill seat, commits himself to prison.

66. If you will work on any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weaknesses and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him.

67. Costly followers, (among whom we may reckon those who are importunate in suits) are not to be liked; lest, while a man maketh his train longer, he maketh his wings shorter.

68. Fame is like a river that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.

69. Seneca saith well, that anger is like rain, which breaks itself upon that it falls.

70. Excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation.

71. High treason is not written in ice; that when the body relenteth, the impression should go away.

72. The best governments are always subject to be like the fairest crystals, wherein every icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived.

73. Hollow church papists are like the roots of nettles, which themselves sting not; but yet they bear all the stinging leaves.

SHORT NOTES

FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION.

BY SIR FRANCIS BACON.*

To deceive men's expectations generally (which cautel) argueth a staid mind, and unexpected constancy: viz. in matters of fear, anger, sudden joy or grief, and all things which may affect or alter the mind in public or sudden accidents, or such like.

It is necessary to use a stedfast countenance, not wavering with action, as in moving the head or hand too much, which sheweth a fantastical, light, and fickle operation of the spirit, and consequently like mind as gesture: only it is sufficient, with leisure, to use a modest action in either.

In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly, than hastily; because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes, besides unseemliness, drives a man either to a non-plus or unseemly stammering, harping upon that which should follow; whereas a slow speech confirmeth [illegible] memory, addeth a conceit of wisdom to the heare[r]

* From the Rem[ains]

besides a seemliness of speech and countenance. To desire in discourse to hold all arguments, is ridiculous, wanting true judgment; for in all things no man can be exquisite.

To have common places to discourse, and to want variety, is both tedious to the hearers, and shews a shallowness of conceit: therefore it is good to vary, and suit speeches with the present occasions; and to have a moderation in all our speeches, especially in jesting of religion, state, great persons, weighty and important business, poverty, or any thing deserving pity.

A long continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, sheweth slowness: and a good reply, without a good set speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness.

To use many circumstances, ere you come to the matter, is wearisome; and to use none at all, is but blunt.

Bashfulness is a great hinderance to a man, both of uttering his conceit, and understanding what is propounded unto him; wherefore it is good to press himself forwards with discretion, both in speech, and company of the better sort.

AN ESSAY ON DEATH.*

BY THE LORD CHANCELLOR BACON.

I HAVE often thought upon death, and I find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grand-mother the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others. Physicians, in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it. I know many wise men, that fear to die for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe, that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if heaven h[illegible]nd

* Remains.

nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go per alta; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

4. Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend, who cannot be counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the incertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears: which was fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged

them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens rule " memento mori," and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy it as men prepared to lose and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune: he that is not slackly strong, as the servants of pleasure, how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shews what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault and this good guest of ours takes soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

6. But see how I am swerved, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his stile is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward; in token that he is contrary to life; which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts, can I compare men more fitly to any thing, than to the Indian

fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant, and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

7. So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm, that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that, for the most part, they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather, that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwil-

lingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world, accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils, their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire, if it be possible, to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burned with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings: to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirits mutiny; unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

9. But death is a doleful messenger to an usurer, and fate ultimately cuts their thread: for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, broken in thoughts of his monies abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house, can be content to think of death, and, being

sty of perdition, will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he have time and liberty by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and recociles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity. I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come; the perfectest virtue being tried in action: but I would out of a care to do the best business well, ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

11. And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens

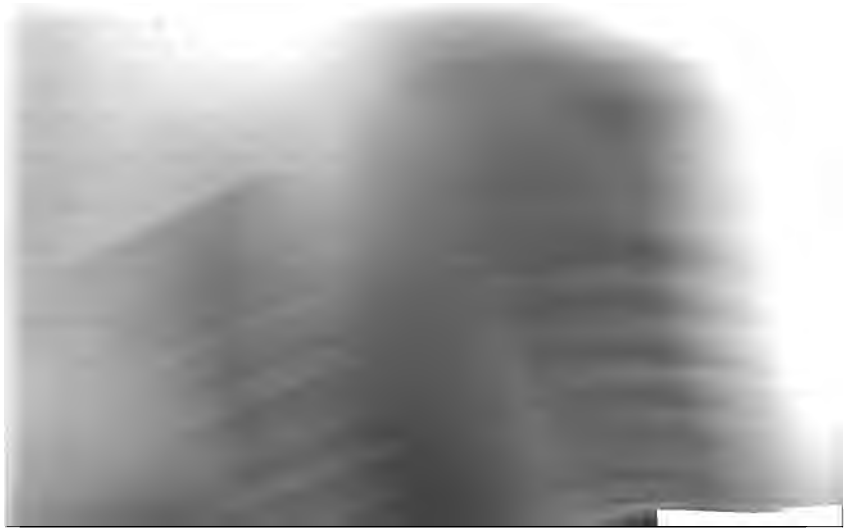
our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to foreflow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it, as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great Dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy; so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, Such an age is a mortal evil. And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done by

enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my friends. The night was even now; but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.



FRANCISCVS BACON. BARO DE VERVLAM S.TI ALB.NI VIC.MS
SEV NOTORIBVS TITVLIS
SCIENTIARVM LVMEN FACVNDIÆ LEX
SIC SEDEBAT:
QVI POSTQVAM OMNIA NATVRALIS SAPIENTIÆ
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATVRÆ DECRETVM EXPLEVIT
COMPOSITA SOLVANTVR.
AN°: DNI: MDCXXVI.
ÆTATIS LXVI.
TANTI VIRI
MEM:
THOMAS MEAVTYS
SVPERSTITIS CVLTOR
DEFVNCTI ADMIRATOR
H. P.

Any person who is desirous to see the confirmation of these opinions upon death will find the subject exhausted in a noble essay, in Tucker's Light of Nature, Vol. 7. in his enquiry whether we cannot help ourselves by the use of our reason, so as to brave looking death calmly and steadily in the face to contemplate all his features and examine fairly what there is of terrible and what of harmless in them.

NOTE B.

Referring to page 8

See Bacon's Essay on Church Controversies, in a subsequent volume.

NOTE C.

Referring to page 17.

See Advancement of Learning, ante Vol. ii. 278, as to the Art of Revealing a Man's Self, and the Art of covering Defects. And see the Analysis of this subject in the analysis prefixed to Vol. 2, page lxiii.

NOTE D

Referring to page 23.

On this subject, see Bishop's Taylor's sermon entitled "The "Marriage Ring."

NOTE E

Referring to page 25.

There are some observations upon Envy, in Taylor's Holy Living.

NOTE F.

Referring to page 31.

See Bishop Taylor's Holy Living, of Charity, or the Love of God. It begins thus: "Love is the greatest thing that God can "give us, for himself is love; and it is the greatest thing we "can give to God, for it will also give ourselves, and carry "with it all that is ours. The apostle calls it 'the band of per-"fection;' it is the old, and it is the new, and it the great com-"mandment, and it is all the commandments, for it is 'the "fulfilling of the law.' It does the work of all other graces, "without any instrument but its own immediate virtue. For as "the love to sin makes a man sin against all his own reason, and

" all the discourses of wisdom, and all the advices of his friends, and " without temptation, and without opportunity: so does the love of " God; it makes a man chaste without the laborious acts of fasting " and exteriour disciplines, temperate in the midst of feasts, and is " active enough to chuse it without any intermedial appetites, and " reaches at glory through the very heart of grace, without any " other arms but those of love." Then see his magnificent dis- " course on Friendship in his polemical discourses. " Christian " charity is friendship to all the world; and when friendships " were the noblest things in the world, charity was little, like " the sun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn into the cen- " tre of a burning-glass; but christian charity is friendship expanded " like the face of the sun when it mounts above the eastern hills; and I " was strangely pleased when I saw something of this in Cicero; for " I have been so push'd at by herds and flocks of people that follow " any body that whistles to them, or drives them to pasture, that I " am grown afraid of any truth that seems chargeable with singula- " rity: but therefore I say, glad I was when I saw Lælius in Cicero " discourse thus: ' Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam con- " ciliavit ipsa natura, contracta res est, et adducta in angustum; ut " omnis charitas, aut inter duos, aut inter paucos jungeretur.' Na- " ture hath made friendships and societies, relations and endear- " ments; and by something or other we relate to all the world; there " is enough in every man that is willing to make him become our " friend; but when men contract friendships, they inclose the com- " mons: and what nature intended should be every man's, we make " proper to two or three. Friendship is like rivers, and the strand " of seas, and the air,—common to all the world; but tyrants, and " evil customs, wars, and want of love have made them proper and " peculiar."

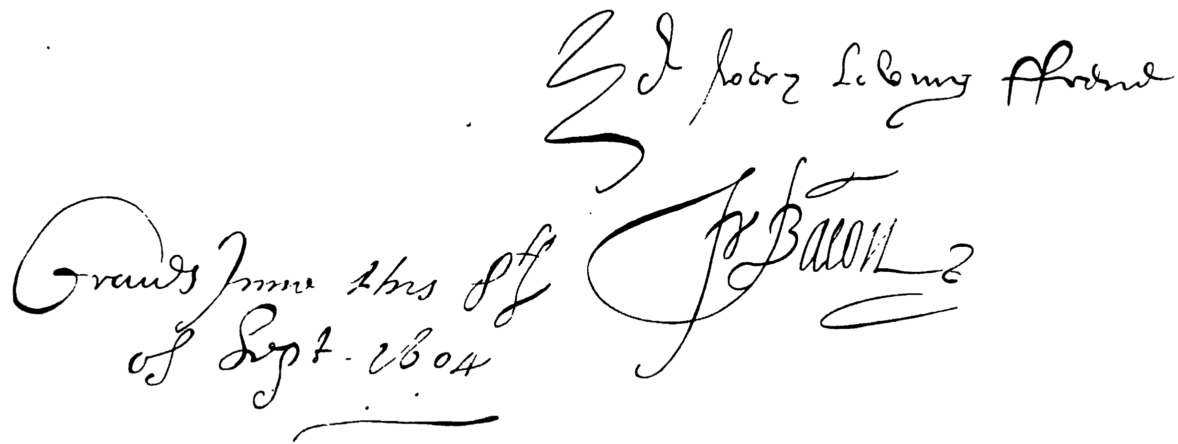
" The friendship is equal to all the world, and of it self hath no " difference; but is differenced only by accidents, and by the capa- " city or incapacity of them that receive it. For thus the sun is the " eye of the world; and he is indifferent to the Negro, or the cold " Russian, to them that dwell under the line, and them that stand " near the tropicks, the scalded Indian or the poor boy that shakes " at the foot of the Riphean hills. But the fluxures of the heaven " and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the " north or south respectively change the emanations of his beams; " not that they do not pass always from him, but that they are not " equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets " and reflections, they receive what they can. And some have only " a dark day and a long night from him, snows and white cattle, a " miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of catarrhes and consump- " tions, apoplexies and dead palsies. But some have splendid fires " and aromatick spices, rich wines and well-digested fruits, great " wit and great courage, because they dwell in his eye, and look in " his face, and are the courtiers of the sun, and wait upon him in " his chambers of the east. Just so is it in friendships," &c.

NOTE G.

See ante vol. ii. p. 274—Referring to page 41.

" It was both pleasantly and wisely said, though I think very un- " truly, by a nuncio of the pope, returning from a certain nation

Facsimile of a Letter from Lord Bacon to Sir Robt Cotton.


Yr poore Loving ffrend
Fr. Bacon.
Grays Inne this 8th
of Sept. 1604

He is silent upon this subject in the Advancement of Learning for a reason there stated. "Considering that I write to a king that "is master of this science and is so well assisted, I think it decent "to pass over this part in silence, as willing to obtain the certificate "which one of the ancient philosophers aspired unto; who being "silent, when others contended to make demonstration of their "abilities by speech, desired it might be certified for his part, 'that "there was one that knew how to hold his peace.'" But see the Essays, page 37 of this volume, upon the "True Greatness of "Kingdoms and States."

See Goldsmith's Deserted Village.

"A bold peasantry their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied." &c.

NOTE I.

Referring to page 53.

See, in this volume, page 215.

See also in the preface to this volume, under observations upon Meditationes Sacræ.

NOTE K.

Referring to the letter prefixed.

"Sir,—Finding during parliament a willingness in you to conferre "with me in this great service concerning the Union, I doe now "take hold thereof to excuse my bolduess to desire that now which "you offred then for both the tyme as to leasure is more liberall "and as to the service itself is more urgent whether it will like you "to come to me to Graies In or to appoynt me whear to meete with "you I am indifferent and leave it to your choise and accordingly "desire to hear from you, so I remain yr very loving friend,

"Graies Inne this 8th of Sept. 1604. F. BACON"

"To Sir Robert Cotton.

NOTE L.

Referring to preface, page viii.

OF STUDIES.

Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments, and for abilities. Their chiefe vse for pastime is in priuatenesse and retyring; for ornament is in discourse, and for ability is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

To spend too much time in them is sloth, to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humor of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience. Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise-men vse them: for they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them: and aboue them wonne by observation. Read not to contradict, nor to beleeue, but to weigh and consider. Some bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed and some few to be chewed and digested. That is some bookes are to be read only in parts; others to be read but curiously, and some few to be read wholy and with diligence and attention. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therfore if a man write little, he had need haue a great memory: if he confer little, haue a present wit, and if he read little, hee had need haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise, Poets witty, the Mathematiques subtill

Facsimile of a Letter from Lord Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil.

From the Original in the British Museum. Vide Vol. I. p. 4[illegible]

Sir finding during pleasure a [illegible] in

Yor ho[nours] [illegible] [illegible]

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natural philosophy deep, Morall graue, Logick and Rhetoricke, able to contend.

OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in be ing able to hold all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what shold be thought. Some haue certain common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want variety, which kind of pouerty is for the most part tedious, and now and then ridiculous. The honorablest part of talke is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else. It is good to vary and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with earnest. But some things are priuiledged from iest, namely religion, matters of state, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pitty. He that questioneth much shall learne much, and coutent much, specially if he apply his questions to the skill of the person of whom he asketh, for he shal giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledg of that you are thought to know, you shall bee thought another time to know thot you know not. Speech of a mans selfe is not good often, and there is but one case, wherein a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as wherevnto himselfe pretendeth. Discretion of speech is more than eloquence, and to speake agreeably to him, with whom we deale is more then to speake in good words or in good order. A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution sheweth slownesse: and a good reply or second speech without a good set speech sheweth shallowness and weaknesse, as we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne. To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to vse none at al is blunt.

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is onely reall had neede haue exceeding great parts of vertue, as the stone had neede be rich that is set without foyle. But commonly it is in praise as it is in gaine. For as the prouerbe is true, "That light gaines make heauy purses," because they come thick, wheras great come but now and then, so it is as true that smal matters win great commendation: because they are continually in vse and in note, whereas the occasion of anye great vertue commeth but on holie daies. To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to dispise them, for so shal a man observe them in others, and let him trust himselfe with the rest, for if he care to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be natural and vnaffected. Some mens behaviour is like a verse wherin euery sillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his mind too much to small obseruations? Nòt to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect, especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and strange natures: Amongst a mans pieres a man shall be sure of familiarity, and therefore it is a good title to keep state: among a mans inferiors one shal be sure of reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he give another occasion

of satiety, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply ones selfe to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another: yet to add somewhat of ones own, as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinction. If you will follow his motion: let it be with condition: if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleadging further reason.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his trayne longer, he make his wings shorter: I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in sutes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation and protection from wrong.

Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, whervpon commonly insueth that ill intelligence that wee many times see between great personages. The following by certain States answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, as of souldiers to him that hath been emploied in the wars, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuil and wel taken euen in Monarchies, so it bee without too much pompe or popularity. But the most honorable kind of following is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and desert in all sorts of persons, and yet wher there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable then with the more able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour. It is good not to make too much of any man at first because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be gouerned by one is not good, and to be distracted with many is worse: but to take aduice of friends is ever honorable: "For lookers on many times see more then gamesters, and the vale "best discouereth the hill." There is little friendship in the world, and least of al between equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

OF SUTORS.

Many ill matters are vndertaken, and manye good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to win a thanke, or take a second reward. Some take hold of sutes only for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise haue an apt pretext, without care what become of the sute, when that turn is serued. Nay some vndertake sutes with a fal purpose to let them fal, to the end to gratifie the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in sort a right in euery sute, either a right of equity, if it be a sute of controuersie: or a right of desert, if it be a sute of petition. If affection lead a man to fauour the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the

matter then to carry it. If affection lead a man to fauor the lesse worthy in desert, let him do it without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer. In sutes a man doth not well vnderstand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and iudgment, that may report whether he may deale in them with honor. Sutors are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in sutes at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thanks then one hath deserued, is growen not only honorable, but also gratious. In sutes of fauor the first coming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the mater could not otherwise haue been had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note. To be ignorant of the value of a sute is simplicity, as wel as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in sutes is a great mean of obtaining, for voycing them to bee in forwardnesse may discourage some kind of sutors, but doeth quicken and awake others. But tyming of the sutes is the principall, tyming I say not onely in respect of the person that should graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

OF EXPENCE.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. The fore extraordinary expence must bee limited by the worth of the ocasion, for voluntary vndoing may be as well for a mans country as for the kingdome of heauen, but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a mans estate, and gouerned with such regard as it be within his compasse and not subiect to deceite and abuse of seruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the billes may be lesse then the estimation abroad. It is no basenesse for the greatest to discend and looke into their owne estate. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into melancholy in respect they shall find it broken. "But wounds cannot bee "cured without searching."

He that cannot looke into his own estate, had need both chuse wel those whom he employeth, yea and change them often. For newe are more timerous and lesse subtle. In clearing of a mans estate he may as well hurt himselfe in being too suddaine, as in letting it run on too long, for hasty selling is commonly as disaduantagable as interest. He that hath a state to repaire may not dispise smal things: and comonly it is lesse dishonorable to a bridge petty charges then to stoupe to pettye gettinges. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may bee more magnificent.

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

There is a wisedome in this beyond the rules of physicke. A mans own obseruation what hee findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth not well with me, therefor I will not continue it, then this, I finde no offence, of this therefo ? I may vse it. For strength of nature in youth passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discerne of the comming on of years, and thinke not to doe the same things still. Beware of any suddaine change in any great point of diet, and if necessity inforce

it, fit the rest to it. To be free minded and chearefully disposed at houres of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting If you fly physicke in health altogether, it will bee too strange to your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar it wil work no extraordinary effect when sicknes commeth. Despise no new accident in the body but aske opinion of it. In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodyes to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and tendring. Physitians are some of them so pleasing and comfortable to the humours of the patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease: and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art, for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, compound two of both sortes, and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honor is but the reuealing of a man's vertue and worth without disadvantage, for some in their actions doe affect honour and reputation, which sorte of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly litle admired: and some darken their vertue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valued in opinion. If a man performe that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath been atchiued, but not with so good circumstance, hee shall purchase more honor, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or vertue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them he do content euery faction or combination of people, the Mvsicke will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honor that entreth into any action the failing wherin may disgrace him more, then the carrying of it through can honor him. Discreet followers help much to reputation. Envy which is the canker of honor is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his endes, rather to seeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans successes rather to deuine prouidence and felicity, then to his vertue or policy.

The true Marshaling of the degrees of Soueraigne Honour are these. In the first place are "Conditores," founders of states. In the second place are "Legislatores," Law-giuers, which are also called second founders, or "Perpetui principes," because they gouern by their ordinances after they are gone. In the third place are Liberatores, such as compounde the long miseries of ciuil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants. In the fourth place are "propagatores," or "propugnatores imperii," such as in honorable wars inlarge their territories, or make Noble defence against inuaders. And in the last place are "Patres patriæ," which raigne justly, and make the times good wherein they liue. Degrees of honour in subiectes are first "Participes curarum," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affaires, their Right hands (as we call them). The next are "Duces belli," great leaders, such as are Princes Lieutenantes, and do them notable services in the warres. The third are "Gratiosi," fauorites, such as exceed not this scantling to be solace to the Soveraigne, and harmles to the people. And the fourth "Negotys pares," such as have great place vnder Princes, and execute their places with sufficiency.

OF FACTION.

Many have a newe wisedome indeed, a fond opinion: That for a prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings according to the respects of Factions, is the principall part of policy. Whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisedom is eyther in ordering these things which are generall, and wherin men of several factions do neuertheles agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected. Meane men must adheare, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent and neutral, yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderately, as hee be a man of the one faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth, which is good for a second. It is commonly seene, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter. The traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth al the thanks.

OF NEGOCIATING.

It is generally better to deale by speech then by letter, and by the mediation of a third then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man would draw an aunswere by Letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne Letter. To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiors. In choyce of instrumentes it is better to chuse men of a playner sorte that are like to doe that that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other men's busines somewhat to grace themselues, and will help the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake.

It is better to sounde a person with whom one deales a far off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite then with those which are where they would be. If a man deale with another vpon conditions, the start or first performance is al, which a man cannot reasonably demaund, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before, or else a man can perswade the other party that he shal stil need him in some other thing, or els that he be counted the honester man. All practise is to discouer or to worke: men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnwares, and of necessity, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must eyther know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his endes, and so win him; or his weaknesse or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so gouerne him. In dealing with cunning persons wee must euer consider their ends to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

SPURIOUS APOPHTHEGMES.

1. His Majesty James the First, King of Great Britain, having made unto his Parliament an excellent and large declaration, concluded thus, "I have now given you a clear mirror of my mind; use "it therefore like a mirror; and take heed how you let it fall, or how "you soil it with your breath."

2. His Majesty said to his Parliament at another time, finding there were some causeless jealousies sown amongst them; "That "the King and his people, (whereof the Parliament is the representa-"tive body,) were as husband and wife; and therefore, that of all "other things, jealousy was between them most pernicious."

3. His Majesty, when he thought his Council might note in him some variety in businesses, though indeed he remained constant, would say, "That the sun many times shineth watery; but it is not "the sun which causeth it, but some cloud rising betwixt us and the "sun; and when that is scattered the sun is as it was, and comes to "his former brightness."

4. His Majesty, in his answer to the book of the Cardinal of Evereux (who had in a grave argument of divinity sprinkled many witty ornaments of poesy and humanity), saith; "That these flowers "were like blue and yellow, and red flowers in the corn, which "make a pleasant shew to those that look on, but they hurt "the corn."

5. Sir Edward Cook, being vehement against the two Provincial Counsels of Wales and the North, said to the King; "There was "nothing there but a kind of confusion and hotch potch of justice; "one while they were a Star Chamber, another while a King's Bench, "another a common place, another a commission of Oyer and Ter-"miner." His Majesty answered, "Why, Sir Edward Cook, they "be like houses in progress, where I have not, nor can have, such "distinct rooms of state as I have here at Whitehall or at Hampton "Court."

6. The Commissioners of the Treasure moved the King for the relief of his estate, to disafforest some forests of his, explaining themselves of such forests as lay out of the way, not near any of the King's houses, nor in the course of his progress, whereof he should never have use nor pleasure. "Why," saith the King, "do "you think that Solomon had use and pleasure of all his three hun-"dred concubines."

7. His Majesty, when the Committees of both Houses of Parliament presented unto him the instrument of Union of England and Scotland, was merry with them; and amongst other pleasant speeches shewed unto them the Laird of Lawreston, a Scotchman, who was the tallest and greatest man that was to be seen, and said, "Well, now we are all one, yet none of you will say but here is one "Scotchman greater than any Englishman;" which was an ambi-"guous speech; but it was thought he meant it of himself."

8. His Majesty would say to the Lords of his Council when they sat upon any great matter, and came from council in to him, "Well, "you have set, but what have you hatcht!"

9. Queen Elizabeth was importuned much by my Lord of Essex to supply divers great offices that had been long void, the Queen answered nothing to the matter, but rose up on the sudden, and said, "I am sure my office will not be long void." And yet at that time there was much speech of troubles and divisions about the Crown to be after her decease: but they all vanished, and King James came in in a profound peace.

10. King Henry the Fourth of France was so punctual of his word after it was once passed, that they called him the King of the Faith.

11. The said King Henry the Fourth was moved by his Parliament to a war against the Protestants: he answered, "Yes, I mean "it; I will make every one of you Captains; you shall have com-"panies assigned you." The Parliament observing whereunto his speech tended, gave over, and deserted his motion.

12. A great officer at Court, when my Lord of Essex was first in trouble, and that he and those that dealt for him would talk much of my Lord's friends and of his enemies, answered to one of them, "I will tell you, I know but one friend and one enemy "my Lord hath; and that one friend is the Queen, and that one "enemy is himself."

13. The Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by my Lord of Leicester, concerning two persons whom the Queen seemed to think well of: "By my troth, my Lord," said he, "the "one is a grave Counsellor, the other is a proper young man; and "so he will be as long as he lives."

14. My Lord of Leicester, favourite to Queen Elizabeth, was making a large chace about Cornbury Park, meaning to enclose it with posts and rails, and one day was casting up his charge what it would come to; Mr. Goldingham, a free-spoken man, stood by, and said to my Lord; "Methinks your Lordship goeth not the "cheapest way to work." "Why, Goldingham?" said my Lord. "Marry, my Lord," said Goldingham, "Count you but upon the "posts, for the country will find you railing."

15. The Earl of Northampton, then Lord Privy Seal, was asked by King James openly at the table, where commonly he entertained the King with discourse, the King asked him upon the sudden, "My "Lord, have you not a desire to see Rome?" My Lord Privy Seal answered, "Yes indeed Sir." The King said, "And why? My Lord answered, "Because, if it please your Majesty, it was the seat "of the greatest monarchy, and the seminary of the bravest men of "the world, whilst it was heathen: and then, secondly, because "afterwards it was the see of so many holy bishops in the primitive "church, most of them martyrs" The King would not give it

over, but said, "And for nothing else?" My Lord answered, "Yes, "if it please your Majesty, for two things more: the one to see him, "who they say hath so great a power to forgive other men their "sins, to confess his own sins upon his knees before a chaplain "or priest: and the other to hear Antichrist say his creed."

16. Sir Nicholas Bacon being appointed a Judge for the Northern Circuit, and having brought his trials that came before him to such a pass, as the passing of sentence on malefactors, he was by one of the malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life, which when nothing that he had said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on the account of kindred. Pr'ythee, said my Lord Judge, how came that in? Why, if it please you, my Lord, your name is Bacon and mine is Hog, and in all ages hog and bacon have been so near kindred that they are not to be separated. "Ay, but," replied Judge Bacon, "you and I cannot be kindred except you be hanged; for hog is not bacon until it be well hanged."

17. Two scholars and a countryman travelling upon the road, one night lodged all in one inn and supped together, where the scholars thought to have put a trick upon the countryman, which was thus: the scholars appointed for supper two pigeons and a fat capon, which being ready was brought up, and they having sat down, the one scholar took up one pigeon, the other scholar took the other pigeon, thinking thereby that the countryman should have sat still until that they were ready for the carving of the capon, which he perceiving, took the capon and laid it on his trencher, and thus said, "Daintily contrived, every one a bird."

18. A man and his wife in bed together, she towards morning pretended herself to be ill at ease, desiring to lie on her husband's side; so the good man to please her came over her, making some short stay in his passage over, where she had not long lain, but desired to lie in her old place again; quoth he, how can it be effected? she answered, come over me again; "I had rather," said he, "go "a mile and a half about."

19. A thief being arraigned at the bar for stealing a mare, in his pleading urged many things in his own behalf, and at last nothing availing, he told the Bench the mare rather stole him than he the mare, which in brief he thus related: that passing over several grounds about his lawful occasions, he was pursued close by a fierce mastiff dog, and so was forced to save himself by leaping over a hedge, which being of an agile body he effected, and in leaping, a mare standing on the other side of the hedge, leaped upon her back, who running furiously away with him, he could not by any means stop her until he came to the next town, in which town the owner of the mare lived, and there was he taken and here arraigned.

20. A notorious rogue being brought to the bar, and knowing his case to be desperate, instead of pleading, he took to himself the liberty of jesting, and thus said, "I charge you in the King's "name, to seize and take away that man (meaning the Judge) in "the red gown, for I go in danger of my life because of him."

21. A rough hewn seaman being brought before a wise Just-ass for some misdemeanour, was by him sent away to prison; and being somewhat refractory after he heard his doom, insomuch as he would not stir a foot from the place he stood, saying, "It were better to

"stand where he was than go to a worse place." The Justice thereupon to shew the strength of his learning, took him by the shoulder, and said, "Thou shalt go, 'Nogus vogus,'" instead of 'Nolens volens.'

22. A debauched seaman being brought before a Justice of the Peace upon the account of swearing, was by the Justice commanded to deposit his fine in that behalf provided, which was two shillings, he thereupon plucking out of his pocket a half-crown, asked the Justice what was the rate he was to pay for cursing; the Justice told him sixpence; quoth he, then "A pox take you all for a company "of knaves and fools, and there's half-a-crown for you, I will never "stand changing of money".

22. A witty rogue coming into a lace shop, said he had occasion for some lace, choice whereof being shewed him, he at last pitched upon one pattern, and asked them how much they would have for so much as would reach from ear to ear, for so much he had occasion for; they told him for so much: so some few words passing between them, he at last agreed, and told down his money for it, and began to measure on his own head, thus saying, "One ear is "here, and the other is nailed to the pillory in Bristol, and I fear "you have not so much of this lace by you at present as will perfect "my bargain; therefore this piece of lace shall suffice at present in "part of payment, and provide the rest with all expedition."

24. A woman being suspected by her husband for dishonesty, and being by him at last pressed very hard about it, made him quick answer with many protestations, "That she knew no more of what he said "than the man in the moon:" Now the captain of the ship called "The Moon," was the very man she so much loved.

25. An apprentice of London being brought before the Chamberlain by his master, for the sin of incontinency, even with his own mistress; the Chamberlain thereupon gave him many Christian exhortations, and at last he mentioned and pressed the chastity of Joseph when his mistress tempted him with the like crime of incontinency. "Ay, Sir," said the apprentice, "but if Joseph's mistress "had been as handsome as mine is, he could not have forborn."

26 When my Lord President of the Council was newly advanced to the Great Seal, Gondomar came to visit him; my Lord said, "That he was to thank God and the King for that honour; "but yet, so he might be rid of the burthen, he could very willingly "forbear the honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the "same continued with him still, to lead a private life." Gondomar answered that he would tell him a tale, "Of an old rat that "would needs leave the world: and acquainted the young rats "that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days solitarily; "and would enjoy no more comfort: and commanded them upon his "high displeasure, not to offer to come in unto him. They forbore "two or three days; at last, one that was more hardy than the rest, "incited some of his fellows to go in with him, and he would ven"ture to see how his father did; for he might be dead. They went "in, and found the old rat sitting in the midst of a rich Parmesan "cheese." So he applied the fable after his witty manner.

27. Mr. Houland, in conference with a young student, arguing a case, happened to say, "I would ask you but this question." The student presently interrupted him to give him an answer. Where-

unto Mr. Houland gravely said; "Nay, though I ask you a ques-
"tion, yet I did not mean you should answer me, I mean to answer
"myself."

28. At an act of the commencement, the answerer gave for his question, "That an aristocracy was better than a monarchy." The replier, who was a dissolute man, did tax him, that being a private bred man he would give him a question of state. The answerer said, that the replier did much wrong the privilege of scholars, who would be much straitened if they should give questions of nothing but such things wherein they are practised; and added, "We have heard yourself dispute of virtue, which no man will say "you put much in practice."

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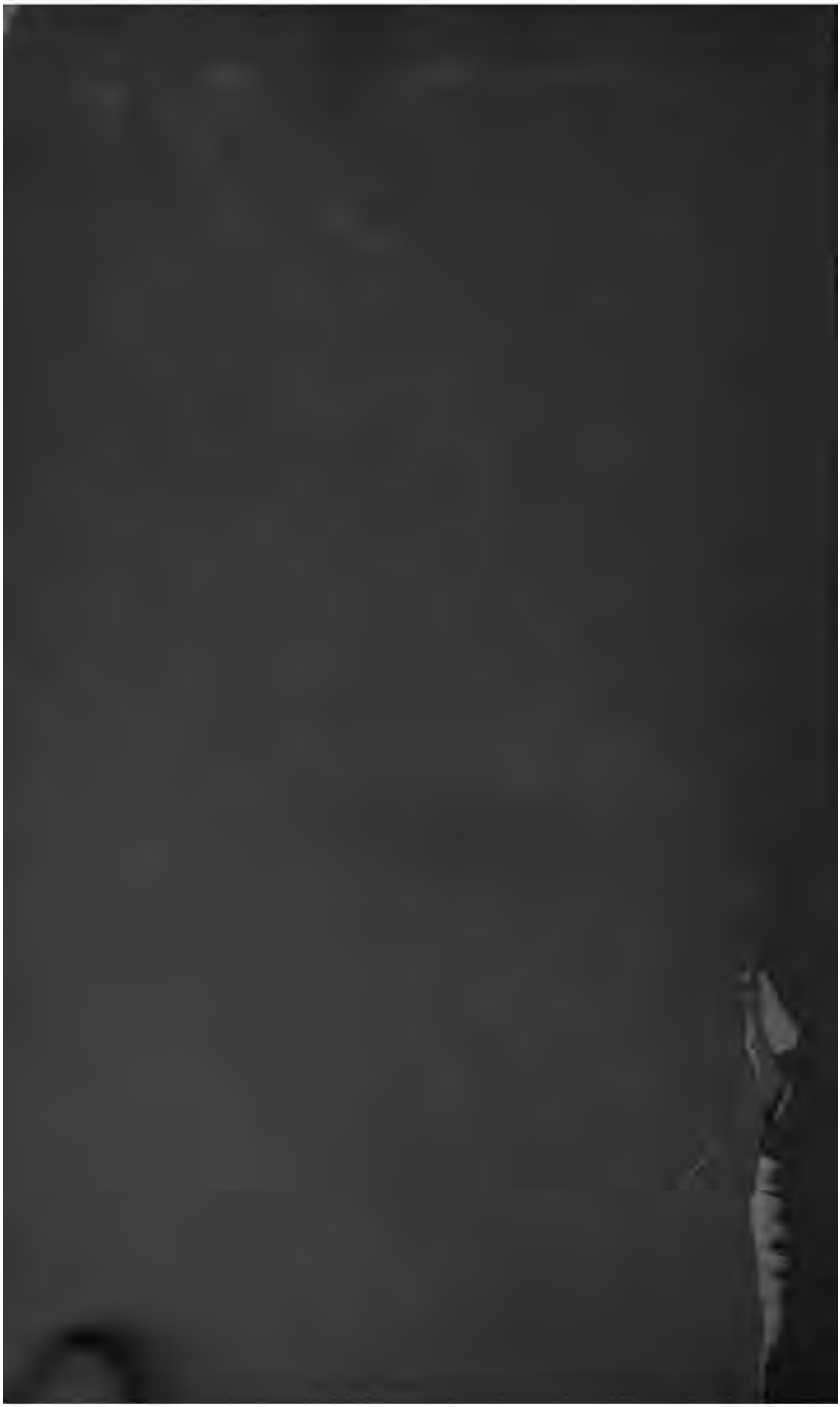
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